0-315-03609-5

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Division
Division des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

51504

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

ZOHRA HUSAINI

Date of Birth — Date de naissance
2.12.1931

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance
INDIA

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

4223, WHITEMUD ROAD EDMONTON, ALBERTA

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

SOCIAL NETWORKS, A FACTOR IN IMMIGRANTS ECONOMIC SUCCESS.

University — Université

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

Ph. D.

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade
1981

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse
C. W. HOBART

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date
24th April 1981

Signature
Zohra Husaini

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NL-339 (Rev. 8/80)

SOCIAL NETWORKS: A FACTOR IN IMMIGRANT ECONOMIC SUCCESS

by

© Zohra Husaini

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

SPRING, 1981

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR ZOHRA HUSAINI

TITLE OF THESIS SOCIAL NETWORKS: A FACTOR IN IMMIGRANT ECONOMIC SUCCESS

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED PH. D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED 1981

Permission is herebby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Signed _____

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

11760 - 35A Avenue

Edmonton

Alberta

DATED April 20, 1981

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled SOCIAL NETWORKS: A FACTOR IN IMMIGRANT ECONOMIC SUCCESS submitted by Zohra Husaini in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

Supervisor

External Examiner

Date March 26, 1981

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

For the completion of this work, I owe a debt of gratitude to the encouragement and support of many of my colleagues and friends. I cannot adequately thank my advisor Dr. C.W. Hobart, whose willingness to provide me with guidance has been unfailing all these years. I would also like to express my appreciation for the suggestions offered by my committee members Dr. T. White, Dr. P. Saram and Dr. Ann Marie Decore, which have much enhanced the quality of this work. I am also grateful to my external examiner, Dr. Grace Andersen, for suggesting valuable additions to this thesis.

I want to especially thank Dr. P. Krishnan for helping me throughout with tricky methodological decisions and Dr. R.D. Sharma for his support in many ways during the period of field research and data analysis.

I do not know what to say to Professor S.M.A. Hameed except to acknowledge that it was only his unrelenting pressure (exerted with the prerogative of being a relative) at moments of intellectual despair and moral confusion which has held me tethered to this long and arduous journey undertaken in search of knowledge.

Finally, my thanks are due to Laura Hargrave for her editorial assistance and to Lillian Poff for her excellent secretarial help.

ABSTRACT

The Purpose of the Study

This study is concerned with exploring the process of occupational integration of married East Indian immigrant women in Canada. It seeks to determine the main channel through which they gain entry into the labour market. For reasons detailed in Chapter II, the research has proceeded primarily by investigating the influence which the social networks of these women have on their job placement and job mobility.

A review of selected relevant literature is found in Chapter III. The literature reviewed includes material on the theory of social networks in the contexts of (a) occupational adjustment in general, (b) the occupational adjustment of immigrants, and (c) women's occupational adjustment.

Methodology

The research design called for collection of survey data and thus required specification of population, constructing a sampling frame and drawing up of a sample representative of the population. The interview schedule included indicators operationalizing social networks and other relevant concepts. These methodological procedures are described in Chapter IV.

As the research focussed on married East Indian immigrant women, a sample of 300 women was drawn; 200 from Vancouver and 100 from Edmonton. The reason for choosing these two cities was to compare the functioning of East Indian social networks in the well-established East Indian Community in Vancouver, which was founded in 1904, with a recently established community in Edmonton dating from World War II.

The Profile of the East Indian Communities

This report contains two kinds of profiles of the East Indian communities. Chapter V describes the historical background of the East Indian communities in Edmonton and Vancouver using published material and Census data. A socio-demographic profile of the sample women who were interviewed is presented in Chapter VI.

The socio-demographic profile of the sample women contains an analytical discussion of the following:

1. Demographic characteristics - (a) age; (b) social class background; and (c) education;
2. Migration characteristics including - (a) reasons for migration; (b) mode of entry; and (c) choice of city of residence;
3. Family characteristics which include - (a) husband's background; (b) family size; and (c) family structure;
4. Occupational characteristics of the sample women which consist of their - (a) work motivation; (b) occupational category and occupational class; (c) sources of

job information; (d) occupational mobility; and (e) attitudes and perceptions concerning work and success.

These findings establish that E.I. women succeed in their occupational quest through their social networks. Given this broad statement, the specific findings from the test of hypotheses are stated below.

Hypothesis 1 is based on the normative aspect of social networks. It was hypothesized that social network norms create aspiration or motivation to work, among East Indian women.

The findings from this hypothesis showed that this is the case with women in Vancouver sample with some qualifications discussed below. However the women of the Edmonton community appear to be relatively unaffected by their social network's normative influence.

Hypothesis 2 stated that male social networks are more helpful in actual job placement of these women than their female social networks. This presuppositon was tested for the women of both communities in their first as well as in their last job. There was no support for this hypothesis although in Edmonton, some differences were found to exist between the first and in the last jobs of these women.

Hypothesis 3 established that ethnic networks are more helpful in the actual occupational placement of these women than their

non-ethnic social networks in the case of first jobs of East Indian women in both communities, but variations were noted.

Hypothesis 4 established that the newly arrived East Indian women would be channelled into broad occupational categories similar to their female social network members. This implies ethnic clustering in certain occupations.

Hypothesis 5 asserted that the occupational status of women in the social networks of East Indian women would be positively associated with their interest in their occupational commitment.

The findings showed that the hypothesis is confirmed in the case of Vancouver women.

Hypothesis 6 asserting that "The East Indian women, who come in contact with women having higher occupational status, will show more interest in occupational mobility than those who have not" was confirmed for Vancouver only.

Hypothesis 7 asserts that jobs found through the female social networks of East Indian women are less frequently stepping stone jobs than the jobs found through their male networks. This hypothesis is not statistically confirmed for Vancouver women, or for lower class Edmonton women. The hypothesis is confirmed for one category of Edmonton women.

Hypothesis 8 states that the mobility (stepping stone vs. "dead end") potential of jobs held by East Indian women is positively associated with the occupational level of their social networks.

The findings show that this hypothesis finds support from our data only in the case of female social networks for upper class Vancouver women with higher education only.

The most striking fact that emerges from these findings is the difference between the women of these two communities. All but two hypotheses were confirmed in the case of Vancouver sample and all but one hypothesis were not confirmed in the case of Edmonton sample. It suggests that we are dealing with two kinds of populations with different histories and different socio-economic compositions. In the final chapter, an explanation of these differences is attempted in terms of three interrelated factors:

1. the migration history of the two communities;
2. the duration of the establishment of social network; and
3. socio-economic and educational differences between the two sub-sample women.

This chapter concludes with theoretical and policy implications suggested by this research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	THE PROBLEM	1
II	THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	13
III	THE REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE	24
IV	METHODOLOGY	61
V	THE EAST INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER	81
VI	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANT WORKING WOMEN IN CANADA	101
VII	THE TESTS OF HYPOTHESES: INITIAL OCCUPATIONAL SEARCH AND MOBILITY QUEST	157
VIII	THE CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH	195
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	228

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
CHAPTER IV		
Table IV-1	Disposition of the Sample of East Indian Married Working Women in Edmonton and Vancouver	76
CHAPTER V		
Table V-1	Immigration of East Indians to Canada, 1900 to 1965	85
Table V-2	East Indians in Canada and Selected Provinces	86
Table V-3	Number of East Indians Arriving in Canada From 1971 to 1976 Based on Country of Last Permanent Residence and Sex of Immigrants, India	87
Table V-4	Destination of East Indian Immigrants to Canada, 1954-1964	90
CHAPTER VI		
Table VI-1	Frequency and Percentage Distributions of the Demographic Characteristics of the East Indian	104 & 105
Table VI-2	The Demographic Characteristics of the Husbands of the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver	116 & 117
Table VI-3	Family Power of the Sample Women From Edmonton and Vancouver	122
Table VI-4	Family Characteristics of the Sample Women and Their Attitudes Towards Family in Edmonton and Vancouver	124 & 124A
Table VI-5	Reasons for Work for the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver	131
Table VI-6	Occupational Category of the First Job of the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver	134

Page

Table VI-7 Occupational Category of the Last/Present Job of the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver 135

Table VI-8 The Occupational Class of the First and Last Job of the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver 137

Table VI-9 The Sources of Information and Recommendation Used for the First, Last, Highest Status and Lowest Status Jobs of the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver ..... 139 & 140

Table VI-10 Mobility Possibility and Mobility Pattern of the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver 144

Table VI-11 Attitudes and Perceptions of the Sample Women Concerning Their Job Satisfaction - in Edmonton and Vancouver ..... 147 & 147A

Table VI-12 Number of Jobs Held in Their Field of Specialization by the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver 149

Table VI-13 Perceptions of Economic Success by the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver 151

Table VI-14 Migration and Social Network Characteristics of the Sample Women in Edmonton and Vancouver 154

CHAPTER VII

Table VII-1 Work Motivation of Respondents by Employment Status of Female Networks With Chi Square - Vancouver Sample 163

Table VII-2 Sex of Contact From Whom Job Placement Information Was Received From Edmonton and Vancouver Samples (Frequency and Percentage Distribution) 166

Table VII-3 Ethnicity of Contact From Whom Job Placement Information was Received for Vancouver and Edmonton Sample (Frequency and Percentage Distribution) 170

		Page
Table VII-4	Index of Dissimilarity Between the Occupational Class of the Respondent's Present/Last Job and the Median Occupational Class of the Present Job of Their Female Contacts for the Edmonton and Vancouver Samples	176
Table VII-5	Occupational Commitment of Respondents by Occupational Status/Level of Female Networks With Chi Square - Vancouver Sample.	181
Table VII-6	Respondent's Interest in Mobility by Occupational Status of Female Networks With Chi Square - Vancouver Sample	184
Table VII-7	Occupational Mobility of the Respondents by Sex of Contact With Chi Square - Edmonton Sample	188
Table VII-8	Job Type of the Respondent by Median Occupational Status of Their (Male and Female) Social Networks with Chi Square - Vancouver Sample	192

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION OF THE PROBLEM

This study is concerned with exploring the process of economic integration of a certain group of immigrants in Canadian society, through the agency of one particular social factor viz. the "social network" factor. More specifically, this study is an inquiry into the occupational adjustment of East Indian women in selected Canadian contexts. The research problem emerges from two background sources:

(1) The differing meanings which the concept "integration" has in the sociological literature, and

(2) The history of the particular group of immigrants in Canada.

Before elaborating on the problem, we shall first elucidate this background.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Over the last seven or eight decades, much has been written on the problem of the immigrants, at first those in the United States, "struggling with her new immigrants," and more lately about those in Canada, Latin America, Australia, United Kingdom, Israel and other immigrant receiving countries. Most of this literature has been con-

cerned with the problem of integration, or more popularly, that of the "assimilation" or the "adjustment" of the immigrants to their newly adopted land. This problem is complex and multi-dimensional, and, as would be expected, is found to vary from one immigrant group to another, as well as from one country to another. For example, the problem of the assimilation of the coloured immigrants in the United Kingdom differs from that of the white immigrants in South Africa; and the adjustment problems of the two religious groups in Ireland are not the same as the problems of different linguistic groups in Canada. Hence the question arises, what is assimilation?

First, we must note that this concept has been interpreted differently by different writers. Two of the earliest sociologists, Park and Burgess (1921:735) conceived of assimilation as a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire traits, memories, etc. of other groups. According to Eisenstadt (1954:6) this process consists in the desocialization of the immigrants, in terms of shrinkages of old roles, and successful learning of new roles. Newman (1957:53) suggests that the basic contention of assimilation is that, over time, all groups will conform to the "mores, life style, and values of the dominant group." Gordon (1964:71-73) considers it to be a matter of degree, with different stages of assimilation, of which "structural assimilation" i.e. the entrance of the immigrants into the institutions of the host society at the primary level, is the key to total assimilation. Other forms of assimilation such as behavioural, attitudinal, civic, etc. can then follow. Despite these differing interpretations, the problem of assimilation can be summed up thus: "Can the immigrants from other

lands adapt themselves to the ways of life in their newly adopted country?"

Gordon makes a very important distinction between different ways in which assimilation can be achieved. He presents three models of assimilation: Anglo-conformity, melting pot and cultural pluralism. These distinctions are important in understanding how different societies attempt to achieve assimilation successfully. The process of assimilation in the United States, in Canada until recently, and in Australia and in New Zealand can best be understood by applying Gordon's model of Anglo-conformity. In this model, the "way of life of the newly adopted country" is identified with that of the dominant majority group; and, as the dominant group in these countries is the Anglo-Saxon group, the requirement for assimilation becomes adoption of the Anglo-Saxon norms and value structure.

This particular identification of the meaning of assimilation with Anglo-conformity has important implications for different immigrant groups, especially for the Asians, who are part of what has come to be known as the third world. It is argued by Gordon that, since assimilation consists in adopting the Anglo-Saxon value structure, those immigrants who come from different backgrounds will find it impossible to assimilate the norms of the dominant majority. The farther removed the culture of a new immigrant group is from the dominant cultural pattern of their adopted country, the harder it is for them to assimilate. Such immigrants should therefore be excluded altogether, or at least their entry should be severely restricted.

It is important to realize that this view is not new. The roots of this thinking are found deep in the sociological theories of

migration and also in the immigration policies of the United States, Canada and Australia (Woodsworth 1972, Hughes & Kallen 1974, Price 1969). Influenced by such assumptions, the United States' immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 drastically curtailed the entry of the southern and Eastern Europeans in large numbers. Since they were substantially different from the English, it was assumed they would be unable to assimilate. At the same time they virtually prohibited the permanent settlement of the Asians even in small numbers, since they were totally different from the English. Such opinions were reflected as recently as 1952 in the McCarran Walter Act which was passed by the U.S. Congress in that year (Price 1969:82, Gordon 1964, ch. 4).

Similar views prevailed in other countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Until very recently, Canada also advocated the policy of Anglo-conformity. Richmond (1967:3-4) points out that one of the cardinal principles of Canada's immigration policy was that, since the British immigrants were considered more readily absorbable, their immigration was to be encouraged. They were, according to Porter (1965:68-73), given 'preferred' status in occupations, as against the 'entrance' status accorded to the others, e.g. the 'orientals'. All the other immigrant groups were expected to adopt the dominant value patterns, otherwise they were considered as unsuitable for settling in the new world. Lord Durham (1930:215) in his report of 1839 wrote about French Canadian, "It is to elevate them from inferiority that I desire to give them our English character... They shall be made English." This attitude was extended to the immigrant groups from other countries also, tempered or heightened by the perceived degree of difference.

As far as the third world immigrants, especially Asians, were concerned, their immigration into Canada was widely opposed owing to the great differences in skin colour and culture that they exhibit when compared with those of Anglo-Saxon origin. The population of British Columbia for example, reacted violently against the entry of the Chinese and Japanese settlers and other coloured immigrants to British Columbia (Price 1969:83). They were referred to as the "oriental problem" and the "yellow peril" (Davis & Krauter 1971:55). Richmond (1970:86) has pointed out that until 1962, the Canadian Immigration Act was clearly administered against the Asians and Negros. The immigration of non-white people until 1970, was only 4% of the total post-war immigration population.

Similar concerns have been expressed throughout this century over the immigration of persons from the third world. Here are some opinions.

The Immigration Regulations of 1908 state,

> "The native of India is not a person suited to this country...their inability to readily adapt themselves to surroundings entirely different...render a discontinuance of such immigration most desirable in the interest of Indians themselves." (Misrow, 1915:33)

Later Berghough, in 1949, says,

> "We recognize the need for selection and exclusion of all races that cannot be assimilated into the natural life of Canada." (Hawkins, 1972:85)

Finally, in 1947, then Prime Minister MacKenzie King justified the Federal Government's stand on Asiatic Restrictive Immigration, thus:

> "Large scale immigration would change the fundamental composition of Canadian population. Any considerable

> oriental immigration would...give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties...in international relations."
> (Corbett, 1957:34)

As we shall see, echos of this concern over the assimilation of third world immigrants, are also heard in the present day.

Over the years, however, changing social conditions have altered the character of the Canadian population composition. Canada has become multi-ethnic as a result of the changes in immigration policies, and has chosen to become a culturally pluralistic society.

Among the non-British, non-French population, which comprises one-third of Canada's people, the climate of opinion is shifting away from a passive acceptance of the demands to conformity to the dominant culture, in favour of an active encouragement of cultural pluralism (Hughes & Kallen 1974:67). This means a recognition of the rights of all the ethnic groups to preserve their own historical cultural tradition, if they wish, while participating in the common socio-economic institutions of the larger society. The earlier model of Anglo-conformity no longer has the kind of overt support it once had. This has led to the demands of the 'Other' ethnic group or the 'third force', which gave rise, in 1970, to Book IV of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, with 16 recommendations for the implementation of multiculturalism. The policy of multiculturalism, within the framework of bilingualism, was adopted and announced in October 1971.

This change from Anglo-conformity to multi-culturalism immediately gives a different meaning to 'assimilation' and 'assimilibility'. Under the multi-cultural model, the requirements of

assimilation are no longer identical with that of the Anglo-conformity model, i.e. adopting the Anglo-Saxon value structure and behavioural and attitudinal patterns. Still, the old question concerning the adaptability of third world immigrants to Canadian society, remains open. It is transformed into the question, 'Can third world immigrants -- while preserving their own cultural institutions -- adapt to those Canadian institutions which are common to all ethnic groups, such as economic, educational, political institutions?' To distinguish this second type of question from the first, we shall use the term "integration" as suggested in the introductory paragraph, instead of "assimilation."

Before judging whether Asians are, or are not, capable of being integrated into the Canadian society, in the context of Canadian pluralism, the question arises, "what are the new criteria for adaptability or integration of the new immigrants, into a multi-cultural society?" A pertinent answer to this question can be found in the recent immigration and manpower policies of Canada. In 1967, Canada introduced a new immigration policy described as a "point system", largely based on the White Paper on Immigration, published in 1966. This policy seeks to adapt immigration criteria to Canada's manpower needs for the economic growth of the country (Immigration to Canada, 1969:7). Under this system, the applicants for immigration are assessed in terms of a point system based on a number of criteria. There are categories relating to the age, educational qualification, language ability, demand in the occupational field, presence of the relatives in Canada, etc. of the applicants.

These criteria place greater emphasis on the capacity of the immigrants to integrate economically into Canadian society, which primarily means their occupational adjustment.

While this policy enunciates the principle of universal application, distinctions are still made among the immigrants of different nationalities, on the question of their economic absorbability. Hawkins (1972:84) points out that the Senate Committee on Immigration, established in 1947 recommended that,

> "Any suggestion of discrimination based either on race or religion should be scrupulously avoided...the limitation of the Asiatic immigration being based of course on problem of absorption (:84)."

THE RATIONALE OF THE PROBLEM

In light of the development and changes in Canada outlined above, it becomes clear that the general assertion -- that Asian immigrants are unassimilable in the North American society -- needs to be reassessed. In order to do so, there is a need to look into the economic integration of a particular group of Asian immigrants, which in effect means their occupational adjustment and their contributions to the Canadian economy. If it is discovered that these immigrants have achieved reasonable self-sufficient economic integration, that will show that they <u>are</u> capable of economic integration into Canada, within the context of Canadian cultural pluralism, since total conformity to the dominant culture is no longer required.

The present study, then, inquires into the occupational adjustment and success of one particular group of immigrants, the East Indians, as exemplifying the Asian immigrants. But the actual focus

of the present research is narrower still, since the study concentrates only on the occupational adjustment of the East Indian women, for very specific reasons.

The issue of the women's employment raises special problems and the case of the immigrant women's employment is quite unique. Let us look at the situation of married immigrant women. As Boyd's (1977) research shows they come here having dependent status, i.e. dependent on their husbands. As dependents, several things are taken for granted. It is assumed, for example, that as dependents upon their husbands, they do not have or need a career; that, therefore, they are not and do not need to be highly educated or trained. As they are not usually considered oriented to any specific occupational career, their work is regarded as having little value.

Immigrant women also face other kinds of stigmas and disadvantages in being treated as dependents. Their specific individual needs and potential are not taken into account when the immigration policies are made, which leads to special problems. They are under-represented in the immigrants' occupational statistics, hence their contributions to the Canadian economy are bound to be underestimated. Hardly any research studies exist dealing specifically with their problems. They are a neglected group in society as well as in the sociological literature. This is obvious from the charge sociology has often faced: that it is over-concerned with male behaviour (Acker 1971, Boyd 1976).

An immigrant woman, then has to operate under the burden of these additional disadvantages. If it can be shown that she is able to make reasonable economic adjustment and achieve reasonable economic

success, despite these disadvantages, a strong case can be made for the economic integration in Canada of Asian immigrants in general.

THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study is an investigation into the process of occupational adjustment and success of East Indian immigrant women in Canada as a special group exemplifying the Asian immigrants.

Specifically, this study seeks to determine the nature of their work force involvement: to determine why and how soon after their arrival in Canada, these women seek employment; the channels through which they gain entry into the labour market; the type, level and the mobility potential of their jobs; and the actual mobility of these women since first obtaining employment.

To date, there appears to have been no research done on East Indian immigrant women in Canada. However, a review of general literature on women and work, and on the immigrants reveals a wide-spread assumption that the immigrant women suffer from a dual disadvantage in employment, on the basis of their sex and their ethnic status. Yet a large number of East Indian immigrant women in Canada are employed; and the research question is how do they succeed in their occupational quest.

One key to the occupational adjustment process is found in the recent sociological concept of "social networks." A number of studies on employment show that a person's social networks play a very important role in his/her occupational integration and mobility

achievement. The present study proposes to explore this possibility in the case of East Indian women. Hence the research problem is to investigate the relevance of the East Indian women's networks of contacts (particularly ethnic networks) for their employment and mobility search.

A PREVIEW OF THE THESIS

The succeeding chapters of this thesis attempt to work out the research problem, outlined above, in the following manner.

Part I, which consists of this and three other chapters, is concerned with theoretical and methodological issues involved in this study.

Chapter II spells out the rationale and the nature of the theoretical framework chosen and developed for this study, viz. the social network theory. Chapter III covers, at some length, the relevant literature dealing with the meaning of the social network concept, and the significance and functioning of the social networks in social life, specifically in the occupational sphere of human social world. Chapter IV describes the basic research methodology adopted for this study, a survey research approach involving collection of interview data to be used in testing theoretically based hypotheses.

Part II primarily presents information on the East Indian communities in Edmonton and Vancouver, in two chapters. Chapter V deals with the historical aspect of the East Indian community and

Chapter VI describes the characteristics of the women samples in these two cities, thus building up a socio-demographic profile of these women.

Part III is devoted to testing of the research hypotheses which are focussed on discovering relationships between various dimensions of their social networks (viewed as the independent variable) and different aspects of East Indian women's employment (seen as the dependent variable), and presenting findings from statistical analysis.

Part IV contains summary, conclusion, discussion and the interpretation of the findings and outlines their implications for the theory of social networks and for social policy. It is in this part that the question raised in Chapter I, viz. -- how do East Indian immigrant women succeed in their occupational quest, is finally answered.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

In the sociological literature, the issue of the immigrant's integration into the host society has been treated within several broad theoretical perspectives; such as, assimilation and acculturation (Park 1950, Eisenstadt 1954, Gordon 1964, Frazier 1957, Hughes & Hughes 1952, Newman 1972, Price 1969), ethnic stratification (Shibutani & Kwan 1965, Shermerhorn 1970, Kuper 1974, Kuper & Smith 1969, Van den Berghe 1970, Mason 1970, Kuiloch 1974), the dynamics of prejudice and discrimination (Simpson & Yinger 1953, Allport 1954, Rose 1964, Blalock 1967, Merton 1949, Bettleheim & Janowitz 1964), and the policies of immigration and manpower (Woodsworth 1909, Angus 1946, 1947, Ossenberg 1971, 1960, Corbett 1957, Richmond 1967, 1969, 1970, Hawkins 1972). Very little attention, however, has been paid to a particularly relevant social factor, viz. the social networks which an immigrant enters or develops, which positively contribute to his or her integration into the new society. Though there are some studies, demonstrating the crucial importance of this concept for the economic integration of persons in different occupations, only very few writers have seen the relevance of such network support in the context of the immigrant's economic integration.

Some note, however, has been taken of the role of group support, in the lives of the new immigrants, in the popular notion of 'primary groups'. Primary groups, in the sense in which Cooley (1909) conceived of it, and Gordon (1964) developed it, is the term applied to small groups where the contact among its members is "informal, intimate and largely face to face." (Gordon 1964:32). Examples of such groups include family groups, social cliques, etc. When the immigrants come to a new and perhaps hostile social environment, they tend to seek out primary group relations within their own cultural/ethnic groups. Such groups are important in providing the immigrant's social and psychological adjustment, but they appear to be inadequate for the purpose of the study of their economic integration, for several reasons.

1. The primary group boundaries are narrow, as the important criterion of the primary group membership is, face to face interaction which is possible with only a limited number of people. Hence, the primary group concept does not embrace the larger network of social ties, which are likely to have a much wider access to job information and wide range of recommendation.

2. Nor does this concept take note of the role played by the individual efforts of the immigrants in the attainment of their economic goals; efforts which make them feel that they are, in part, masters of their own destiny.

3. Finally, the attainment of economic success is very often attributed to an elusive factor called "luck." Jenks and his associates (1972), who believe that luck is far more important in the economic achievement than most successful people acknowledge, include "chance acquaintances who steer the individual into a particular path" (:227) as a crucial social factor in 'luck'. The primary group concept cannot bring this important factor very centrally into the realm of social explanation.

For these reasons, we conclude that the notion "primary group" is inadequate in explaining the economic integration of the immigrants into the new societies.

THE RATIONALE FOR CHOOSING THE SOCIAL NETWORK PERSPECTIVE FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

In order to account for the factors noted above, which are found to be significantly related to the immigrants economic integration, a more comprehensive and expansive concept, than that of the "primary group" is required. The concept of social networks appears to be the most promising explanatory tool for this purpose, for the following reasons.

1. (a) The notion of the "social network" is wider than that of the primary groups (and even wider than Merton's (1957) concept of "reference group"). Social networks as we shall see, include, in addition to these two groups, the "weak ties" of acquaintances, friends of friends, colleagues, bosses, etc. Much of the relevant research shows, that such weak ties are more important in the occupational placement of persons, as they carry the possibility of a wider access to occupational placement chances.

   (b) Within the framework of social network ties, it is possible to take note of the immigrant's own efforts in search of economic adjustment, not only in terms of hard work, but also in terms of social contacts. They can be seen as seeking and maintaining social network ties, and then manipulating them (Bossevain 1974:21) for achieving occupational mobility.

   (c) As far as economic achievement is concerned, the immigrants often believe that it is the result of their own efforts and their luck (Anderson 1974). But by noting that, to a large extent, their luck depends on the types of social network they enter,

often by pure chance, one can bring this one element of luck into the social context. That social context is the realm of their social contacts and acquaintances. Thus to some extent this element of luck can be subjected to social explanation and analysis.

2. Secondly, as far as the case of women's occupational integration into the society is concerned, the existing literature contains a number of studies, to be mentioned later, on their labour force participation. These cover themes such as the demographical and socio-economic variables, as well as the psychological dilemmas of role conflict and the family situations of women workers, affecting their labour force participation. Except for a short study of the West Indian women (Turrittin 1976), no work exists on the social networks of women, as channels for their economic integration.

There is need for research on these aspects of women's employment, for several reasons. It is generally true that less emphasis is placed on women's education or training for any particular profession than on that of men. They are not commonly expected to have careers of their own, or aspire for much economic success. Immigrant women typically enter Canada with a dependent status (Boyd 1977), dependent upon their husbands. The majority of them are not likely to come here with pre-arranged jobs, through the agencies or the employers, or with high professional qualifications. They are likely to make a greater use of theirs and their husband's social networks, than of the other impersonal channels in searching for an occupational foothold in Canada. Therefore, the social network framework promises to be particularly fruitful in the understanding of the process of integration of the immigrant women into the Canadian economy.

THE MEANING OF THE CONCEPT OF "SOCIAL NETWORK"

The historical origin of the concept of social network in sociology, the different ways in which it has been conceived and the different purposes that it has served as an analytical tool, will be the topics of discussion in the next chapter. Here, it is important only to indicate what the concept portrays and how it differs from the concept of "grouphood."

When the sociologists started building the theoretical models of social reality, they used such concepts as "groups", "organizations", "classes", "sects", etc. to describe certain types of social phenomena and social relations. These concepts describe 'collectivities' with relatively neat, formal sets of boundaries. Yet,

> "...there were aspects of social life which defied portrayal: personal influence, the spread of rumour, rioting, skid row, cliques, factions, neighbourhood, job allocation, migration. These are phenomena in which certain kind of social relations are clearly important, in which "group" involved is elusive..." (Tilly 1974:px)

All these are social structures but they are not formal groups, nor are they defined as groups. The concept of "social networks" describes such social structures or sets of social relationships, which do not neatly fall into formally bounded groups. Such a structure would hardly have a name, a locale, common property or well defined boundary; the links would be remote and indirect; yet the obligations, privileges, sentiments and interactions prevailing are genuine and important.

The choice of the language of "social networks" rather than that of the "groups", for describing such structures has a special significance. It carries with it the implication that the narrow boundaries of the grouphood are thrown open by this free concept, where links meet links and so on. Wittgenstein (1954), the founder of contemporary linguistic philosophy has taught us that language mirrors thought, and thought captures reality. He warns against the quest of limiting or binding reality through thought and language, in narrow boundaries of definitions, neat linguistic categories, or precise expressions. The reason is that he believes that social reality itself is not bounded or limited in narrow sections. Through the inflexible chains of precise concepts, it is the human mind which envisages and presents it as if it were to be found in neat categories and compartments. Language, he shows intricately, misleads us as to the true nature of reality. It "bewitches our intelligence." But we have no other means, except language itself, to clarify the confusions created by the language. One way of doing it is to choose and use language which carries with it the impression of open, unbounded limitless reality. The term "social network" has the potential to serve as such a concept.

To justify this claim, we note that, as a metaphor, this term is really indicative of the broad possibilities implied by infinite links connected with other links, and with more links, which meet directly with some and indirectly with many others. The links get broken and new ones are formed. This linguistic imagery well represents social life, as it is lived in the fullness of such human interaction and exchange, as described in the quote above.

The choice, then, of the conceptual framework of the "social networks", for the study of the occupational quest of the East Indian immigrant women, promises to illuminate some unexplored aspects of the integration process.

THE THEORETICAL STRUCTURE EMBRACING THE SOCIAL NETWORK CONCEPT

So far we have considered only the concept of social networks. But as a descriptive concept, it does not constitute a theory, and therefore does not possess the explanatory power of a theory. So far, no theoretical structure has been fully worked out in the sociological literature, placing the predicted relationship between social networks and occupational success in a systematic theoretical form.

Barry Wellman has developed a certain theoretical perspective from which testable proposition can be deduced (1972, 1973, 1977, 1978, 1980). He views social netowrks as relating to community structures. He believes that although thought of as a collection of techniques, network analysis is basically a perspective which focusses on the relationships between individuals and collectivities (1977, p. 11). It gives analytic attention to (a) social structural properties rather than to the individual units; (b) the allocation of scarce resources through systems of power, dependency and coordination; (c) complex network structures as well as dyadic ties; and (d) questions of network boundaries, clusters, and class linkage. Some of these aspects will be examined in the review of lieterature.

The present study is primarily interested in (b), the instrumental aspect of social network or what Wellman terms the "allocation of scarce resources." He does not develop a theoretical explanation to specifically explain this instrumental function, nor does any other student of social networks.

There are enough empirical studies to suggest that a theoretical propositional structure can emerge, if it were worked out. Sociologists, perhaps because of their realization of the difficulties involved in interpreting complex phenomena, have been slow in formulating these relationships in theoretical form. But their systems can be so stated. This task is attempted in this study. A set of propositions is developed which may be loose and not entirely consistent, yet can prove to be explanatory in broad outlines.

We shall first outline a theoretical structure that can be called social network "theory", and then determine whether it is testable. This means working out the general empirical relationships between the concept of social network and occupational quest, into a theoretical structure which can embrace other general relationships, also subject to the same general social law. (Merton 1957:97)

To say that "different social networks differentially affect an individual's employment chances" constitutes only an empirical generalization. Merton (1957:97) says it would become significant for a theory if only it could be derived from a set of other propositions which is the requirement of a theory.

For any theoretical structure to be valid, it must approximate the following criteria of a theory. It must (a) form a set of logically interrelated propositions, asserting relationships among the

concepts; (b) it must be capable of explaining diverse phenomena under a general social law, in the sense that the empirical generalizations of the lower order can be subsumed under the higher order abstractions, which become the ground or rationale for asserting the former; (c) it must be capable of being refuted or confirmed by relevant facts, i.e. hypotheses could be drawn which should be capable of being tested; and (d) it must possess predictive power.

Keeping these criteria in mind, the structure or the paradigm of a network "theory" may develop inductively on the following lines:

1. An Observed Sequence Example	Differential placement of persons of similar qualifications but different social backgrounds in the job market.
2. Established Empirical Generalization	The access to various jobs is largely a function of ones social network.
3. Explanation of a Higher Order of Abstraction (Ground for asserting 2.)	Informal social structures mediate between the individual and formal structures and institutions which supposedly have universalistic criteria of selection.
4. A Specific Prediction Example	The new immigrants of Canada, with little access to social networks, will be disadvantaged in their job hunting.

By reversing the order, one can see that, by stating the theoretic assumptions in a formal fashion, the paradigm of our theoretical analysis is clear. From the theoretical proposition (3), the empirical generalization (2) and the particular case (1) can be logically derived.

(3) Informal social structures mediate between the individual and the formal structures and institutions.

(2) The social networks of the individual mediate between him and the job market.

(1) Hence differential placement of individuals with similar qualifications but different social backgrounds in the job market.

This could lead to the prediction stated above in (4).

This propositional structure could be taken as the rudiments of a theory for the following reasons:

The empirical generalization, viz. — that access to various jobs is largely a function of the networks of contact of the individual —, acquires theoretic significance by being "conceptualized in abstractions of higher order which are embodied in more general statements of relationships." (Merton, 1957 p.97). Thus, instead of being seen as an isolated social phenomenon, it can be seen as a relation, not just between the social networks and the employment seeking and hiring behaviour, but between the structures with certain characteristics and certain kinds of behaviour.

The scope of the original empirical finding is extended to several, seemingly disparate, generalizations which can be seen as interrelated, because they are subject to the same general social law. Such laws hold true for cases other than those from which the system is induced. Now in our system, we see that these laws can be demonstrated to hold true in the fields of conduct which are remote from the original case of job seeking and job allocation behaviour (from which the theory was inductively derived), e.g., in respect to seeking admission in schools and universities, membership in formal organizations, immigration, etc., by inferring or deducing certain hypotheses. The hypotheses could be drawn on the basis of the

theoretical assertion viz. — informal social structures mediate between the individual and the formal structures and institutions — and could be empirically tested. If confirmed, they would contribute to confirmation of the theory.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to present an adequate theoretical framework within which this study intends to explore the role of East Indian women's social networks in their occupational quest. The literature on social networks contains ample evidence that social networks play a very important part in human social living. But in the literature the concept of "social networks" is used in a variety of confusing senses. The next chapter aims at clarifying the issue and presents a review of relevant literature.

CHAPTER III

THE REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

This review of the literature will consist of four parts.

Part one will contain a discussion of the historical origin and different usages of the social network concept in the sociological literature. There follows a review of the studies dealing with the relevance of the concept of social networks for the occupational integration of people in general. Next is a review of the studies using the concept of social network, specifically in the context of the immigrant's economic adjustment and integration. The final section contains a discussion of the limitation of this literature, from the point of view of the present investigation.

ORIGIN OF "SOCIAL NETWORK" CONCEPT

The concept of "social networks" first arose, in social anthropology, as a result of a general dissatisfaction with the structural functional model of society (Firth 1954, Gluckman 1956, Nadel 1957, Goodenough 1956, Fortes 1949, 1958, Leach 1954, 1962, Barth 1966, Barnes 1954, 1962, 1969, Bott 1955, 1956, 1957, P. Mayer 1961, 1964, A. Mayer, 1962, 1966, 1969, Epstein 1969). The anthropologists, accustomed to studing small tribal communities, discovered that the

conventional categories of structural-functional analysis were inadequate for the study of complex societies, with unstructured social relationships and transient associations, in two ways.

(1) At the group level, as Bossevain (1974:9) points out, the structural functional model studies society as a "system of enduring groups, composed of status and roles supported by a set of values, (norms) and connected sanctions, which operate to maintain equilibrium." But as many writers perceived, not all social life consists of corporate groups, nor of a normative behaviour, but of shifting social relationships which lie across the boundaries of such groups. People form transient alliances and cliques, etc., on the basis of what is best for them, and seek to manipulate others to attain their own goals. Such alliances, which are an integral part of the social life of most persons, are not perpetual corporate groups — the types of groups which the structural-functionalist considered to be the key to the most fundamental concept of their system, viz., the social structure.

(2) It is a basic assumption of the structural functionalist system that there is a social structure within a society, which can be isolated and compared with other social structures in other societies. A second assumption is that it can be done through institutionally controlled relations which are, for the most part, relations among the members of the corporate groups. But according to structural-functionalists like Radcliff Brown (1952:192), the actual relations among the individuals are irrelevant for the purpose of science, which he says, requires only an account of the form of the structure. The relations may only provide illustrations for general description, but science as such is not concerned with the particular or the unique, only with the general.

At the level of individual relations, as well, this static model does not reflect the true nature of social life for the following reasons (Boissevain 1974, Aronson 1970, Wolfe 1970, Mitchell 1969, Chrisman 1970, Kapferer 1969, Van Velsen 1964, and A. Mayer 1966). The structural functional analysis often seeks out regularities in behaviour, concentrating mainly on that social action which is

"consistent with the overall morphology of the social system" (Kapferer 1969:183), as described above. Consequently, it often disregards behaviour which is inconsistent with the general structure of the society studied. Van Velsen (1964) has expressed it well.

> "Norms, general rules of conducts...are ultimately manipulated by individuals in particular situations to serve particular ends. This gives rise to variations for which (the structural functionalist)...does not account in his abstractions. He may not consider them particularly relevant...Alternatively he may mention... them as being accidental or exceptional...However labelling a category of data as "exceptional" or "accidental" does not solve the problem, for after all they occur within and are part of the same social order..." which it is the business of the sociologist to explain. (1964:p.xxxiv)

Boissevain (1974) concludes,

> "If the individual behaviour of real people has been "systematically" eliminated from this data used to construct a model, the model so constructed...cannot explain their behaviour. (1974:p.12)

These limitations of the structural-functional model, and a concern with such social behaviour as choice making and manipulation, led social scientists to seek other models of social life, with other basic concepts. They experimented with the concept of "social networks" and found it to be a promising tool in the understanding of such social behaviour. Frankenberg (1966:242) says that the analogy of "networks" makes the "first major advance in the language of sociology" since the term "role."

The main impetus, at the empirical level, that led to the perception of the limitations of the conventional sociology, and the felt need for a broad open expansive concept, came from the general widening of the small tribal communities, by increasing urban migration. This fact makes the concept particularly relevant for the

present inquiry. Aronson (1970:223) shows how in the migration situations, arenas of interaction become enlarged geographically and socially, information flow becomes complex, and the range of choices open to an individual is expanded. All this could not be stated by merely describing the institutional structure and functions. In such an unstructured migration situation, the old concepts of "acculturation" and "assimilation", did not explain or "unlock" these informal interactions. But the network imagery, initially based on the imagery of electronics -- nodes, arcs, nexi -- did "unlock" them in several ways. It was promptly adopted in sociological analysis, and promises to be especially fruitful in the understanding of the immigrants' integration into a new society.

DIFFERENT USAGES OF THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL NETWORK IN THE SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE

The term "social network" was first used by J. Barnes in 1954, in his analysis of the informal social "relationships and the acquaintanceship" in a Norwegian island parish of Bremnes, "which did not fit in the bounded group membership and their involvement in the social institutions at one end of the scale, and in dyadic interaction at the other." Later this concept was widely utilized by other sociologists, for different purposes in a wide variety of social situations. Barnes (1969:52) says, that the concept has been found useful in describing and analyzing "political processes, social classes, the relationships of market to its hinterland, the provision

of services and circulation of goods and information in unstructured social environments, the maintenance of values and norms by gossip... (and) in the study of industrial organizations and small groups" (:52-53).

Perhaps because of the diversity of social contexts in which the concept of "social network" has been applied, there is some confusion in the literature as to its interpretation and use. We can arbitrarily identify at least three different broad forms, in which this concept is used. These forms are not mutually exclusive or contradictory, but overlapping; their differences being more relevant to the different purposes for which they are used, rather than to the differences in meaning.

To start with, the concept of "social network" was used in sociology as a metaphor. The purpose of using the network metaphor was to evoke the image of interconnection among persons without any formal bonds. Tilly (1974) introduces the analogy of a netbag to emphasize the connectedness of links or loops, adjacent or far removed, directly or indirectly linked, without a centre or boundary. Yet it has a structure, and the strain in one point can be transmitted to the other points. Similarly, one can visualize social networks as consisting of all sorts of associations in the social world — associations at primary level or distant contacts consisting of friends, acquaintances, friends of friends, etc. — in short, all those relationships which exist without any formally recognizable boundaries or definitions of "grouphood."

Carrying the metaphor further, it can be viewed as implying several characteristics or dimensions of a network, e.g., the scale,

the intensity, the durability of the links, etc.; and the social networks can vary in any, or all, of these dimensions. Different authors have focussed on different dimensions in different contexts. Wolfe (1970:229) for example, in his network analysis presents a toxonomy of six kinds of social networks. Starting from the most restricted, egocentric networks consisting of the links of one person, he works through to the larger and larger networks, till we can conceive of the large generalized network conceived without any limiting criteria. Bott (1955, 1956, 1957) in her research on the conjugal role in the English families conducted in London, makes an important distinction in terms of density, between the "close knit" and the "loose knit" networks, which are significantly correlated with the conjugal role segregation. Mitchell (1969:10-36) talks of two kinds of characteristics of networks, viz. morphological, such as anchorage, reachability, range, etc.; and interactional such as content, directedness, intensity, frequency, etc.

Underlying all these different treatments of the social network, the main emphasis is always on the informal linkages of the persons within a given network.

Later, the development of the use of "social network" took two different directions. Some sociologists were interested in using it analytically, while the concern of other writers centered on the instrumental use of this concept. To illustrate these two points briefly:

(1) Used as an analytic concept, the focus of social network research is on the analysis of the characteristics of the relationships within a given network. For this

purpose, the researchers concentrated on the finite networks, limiting the persons in a given network to a restricted number with definite relations. This, according to Mitchell (1969:8), is dictated by pragmatic necessity if one is interested in a detailed analysis of the relationships within a restricted network.

In order to carry on rigorous analysis, several students of social networks attempted to formulate detailed models of interpersonal networks based on mathematical notions, and to develop means of applying them to observed social relations. (Davis 1972, Levine 1972, Boorman & Levitt 1973, Lorrain and White 1971.) This use of the social network concept is as precise and restricted as that required by the mathematical graph theory. In graph theory a "finite" set of points, called a net, is linked by a set of lines called arcs. A relation--a diagraph--is a restricted sort of net. The notions of social networks used in the writings of Barnes (1954), as well as in Bott (1957), P. Mayer (1961), Epstein (1961), Pauw (1963), and A. Mayer (1966), is closer to the idea of a diagraph as they focus on smaller networks with a finite number of persons (Mitchell 1969:4).

Another form of network, developed out of such restricted, small scale networks is similar to a study of sociometric relations and can be studied by means of a

sociogram, as developed by Moreno (1953) and others. Festinger, Schachter and Back (1950) and Cartwright & Zander (160) applied sociometric methods to the study of such problems as clique formation, leadership or task performance. Out of these studies developed the particular patterns of linkages e.g. stars, wheel, chains, etc. (Mitchell 1969:6). A person can, for example, be viewed as the centre of a star from which lines radiate to other points and then from there to still other points, etc., Boissevain (1974:24) makes a distinction among the first order or primary network zone, a second order network zone, and so on till we can talk of the Nth order network zone. The focus of this approach is not the characteristics of the persons nor the function of the network, but the characteristics of the linkages within the given network.

(2) In the second type of use of the network concept, the interest of the sociologists centres, not on the relationships within the networks, but on the function of the networks. This use can be termed as the "instrumental" use of the network concept. Social networks here are conceived of as serving some purpose for the individual, either as channels of communication, i.e. flow of information, ideas, rumours, etc. (Mitchell 1969:2) or as the channels of the flow of goods and services (Boissevain 1974:20), or both. The present study is interested in this particular use of the

network concept, therefore it will be treated at some length.

Adrian Mayer (1966:120-124) and others call this type of network, "action sets." In his view, a certain number of linkages which exist in the total network—or what Harris-Jones (1969:301) calls a "sub-set of the total Network"—may be activated or mobilized for a specific limited purpose. This requires some sort of interaction or "transaction" between the person in the centre of the action set (e.g. the job seeker) and other persons in the network. According to Mayer, this "transactional element distinguishes action set linkages from total network linkages", (1966:122). Persons, or a specific category of persons, are called upon to provide goods and services to the person in the centre. An action set, then is a special kind of instrumentally activated personal network. It is delineated in terms of specific transactions that create it and may exist only so long as the purpose is not fulfilled. But "a personal network" denotes a set of linkages which exist simultaneously on the basis of different interests and persists beyond the duration of any particular transaction (Mitchell 1969:39).

Although these authors make a theoretical distinction between the personal network and action sets, all networks have a potential instrumental basis to them, as all networks can be functionally mobilized. For example, one's kinsmen living in town, belong to one's personal network. But when one is able to claim or respond to a demand for service or aid, on the basis of this bond, the personal network acquires an instrumental dimension.

Social networks in their instrumental aspects are to be conceived as large, weakly tied, indirectly linked, without any limiting criteria, consisting of friends, acquaintances, colleagues, bosses, etc. It is so because, as instruments of information flow, or goods and services flow, networks are not chosen on the basis of mutual liking or interests, which is possible only with a limited number of persons. It means that we can study such networks, in their instrumental aspects, without the need for specifying in detail how each individual behaves, or what are the characteristics or directions of relationships between them within given networks.

The present study is not interested in the analysis of the definite relations of persons within the finite networks, but with the social networks in their instrumental aspect. In fact, this study is concerned with the instrumental dimensions of social networks in one specific context, viz., in the context of the economic integration and occupational success of the E.I. immigrant women in Canada.

There are several studies demonstrating the relevance of social networks for the occupational placement, occupational mobility and economic success of persons in all kinds of occupational fields. The next two sections will present a brief review of selected studies, illustrating the instrumental dimension of social networks.

THE REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT STUDIES USING THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION

There is a peculiar circumstance which makes the review of the relevant studies an oblique one, viz. that there are no studies on the E.I. women workers, or their networks of contact, though there is a fairly extensive literature on working women in Canada. The issues treated in this literature deal mostly with the following topics: female labour force particiaption (Turner 1964, Ostry 1968, Cain 1966, Smith—no date, Hill 1972, Perlman 1969, Pindar 1969, Decore 1976, Canada Department of Labour 1964, Baker 1964), secondary workers (Wyotinsky 1940, Long 1958), sex discrimination (Bossen 1971, Robson 1970, Royal Commission Report on the Status of Women in Canada 1970, Geoffroy and St. Marie 1971, Kanowitz 1973, Madden 1973, Lambert 1969); women's psychological dilemmas (Kundsin 1974, Bradwick et al 1970, Treman & Taylor 1956), and women's family situation affecting their work force participation (Fogarty et al 1971, Myrdal & Klien 1956, Epstein 1970).

Very little has been written on the problems of immigrant women workers in general, and on their social networks as a positive factor in their economic integration, in particular. In recent years there has been increased usage of the social network concept in both academic and popular literature on women. The review of relevant literature which follows deals only with academic publications, but it should be noted that there are descriptions of women's networks and

networking in recent popular publications (Smith, 1976). None of these deal with women's occupational adjustment however. Their focus is on issues such as housewives problems, abortion, etc., and so they are not directly relevant to this study.

There are a number of studies of male workers, dealing with relevance of their social networks for their occupational success. This review examines selected studies from this field, with a view to drawing certain insights into the nature of the relationship between the social networks and economic success, which could then be applied in the case of women. Much of the earlier literature in this area, has been created by the labour economists, who were concerned either with the problem of unemployment, or with that of the labour shortage. Most of the research was conducted after 1930, in different locales, i.e. in cities of different sizes, economic bases and market conditions. All the studies indicate the crucial importance of one's contacts for one's life-chances, even though the direct focus of many of them is <u>not</u> social networks. All of them demonstrate, conclusively, that the informal means of job search and job allocation, consisting mainly of acquiring job information and recommendation through the chain of personal contact, are used far more widely and are far more effective, than the formal means, such as the mass media or the public agencies.

These studies, demonstrating such a wide use of social networks in occupational search, are conducted at different levels and types of occupations, from the blue collar workers, to the white collar workers. We shall review selected studies representing this variety of occupations.

One of the earliest studies was conducted in 1932, by De Schweinetz, entitled, "How Workers Find Jobs". In this study the author indicated a wide use of the personal contacts among factory workers in Philadelphia. Most of the jobs were reported to have been found through friends and relatives (Granovetter, 1974:5).

In the fifties, a number of research studies on the blue collar workers were conducted by Reynold (1951), Myers and Schultz (1951), Edelman et al, (1952), Lester (1954), Parnes (1954), and in the sixties by Wilcock and Franke (1963), Ullman and Taylor (1965) and Sheppard and Belitsky (1966). All these authors arrived at the same kind of conclusion, viz. that the formal channels of employment search rarely accounted for more than 20% of job placement, whereas the largest number of jobs--60%-90% (Granovetter, 1974;5), were obtained through the informal channels, i.e. the social network of friends and relatives of the job seeker.

Let us look at a few of these studies at greater length. Edelman et al, (1952;196) in their study of the factory workers in eight neighbourhoods in Urbana, Illinois, show that most of the employers prefer to hire candidates who are immediately and conveniently available. As a result of this preference the informal channels of hiring, i.e. recommendations through friends and other employers and employees are used in the majority of cases by all the eight communities.

Myers and Shultz (1951), conducted a research study in 1950 in a New England city of 35,000 on the occasion of a partial shut-down of a textile mill, employing 3,500 - 5,000 workers. There was a general business recession and the authors were interested in dis-

covering among other things, how workers find jobs. Two examples of 55 to 150 workers were drawn (21-22). In the first sample were those workers who quit voluntarily, whereas in the second were those who were laid off.

The findings of this study, concerning job hunting techniques, show that there was little difference between the two samples (p. 45). Acquaintances and relatives working in the new plant, were the most important single way of learning about the jobs in sample I, and second most important in sample II, i.e. for 23% and 24% respectively. The most important method of getting the job, was the employee's solicitation accounting for 33% in sample II and 16% in sample I. All those cases could be grouped in the 'acquaintance' category. The authors quote (p. 47-50) a number of cases, demonstrating the importance of this channel. When asked how they found their first job, 54% of sample I and 55% of sample II said that they found it through friends and relatives. The authors conclude by saying that these informal methods of job search by the workers, accounted for 62% of the jobs secured by the workers in the sample I and 50% in sample II. In contrast, the number of jobs found through formal methods was much lower.

Lester's (1954) investigation of employment practices, particularly hiring practices in approximately 80 manufacturing firms in the Trenton, New Jersey area, conducted from 1951-53, resulted in essentially similar findings as noted above. Though the study extends to more questions than hiring, this review will focus on the findings concerning the channels of employment search.

The study confirmed the conclusions of an earlier investigation by Baldwin, conducted in 1944-45 (1951), that the gate hiring and internal recruitment by the employee's referral are the two main methods of hiring on which most of the firms rely. These two methods mean that "grapevine communication" plays an important role in the operation of hiring and seeking jobs. About 90% of a rubber company's employees were hired at the gate on direct application, of which a very large number were recommended by relatives and friends working the plant (p. 30). The only time this company had ever used advertisements was on two or three occasions during World War II. Many companies commented on the effectiveness of word-of-mouth report, via grapevine, in stimulating or discouraging applications at the company's employment office. The company had tried placing advertisements earlier but the company did not get results from them (p. 40). The conclusion drawn was that the interpersonal channels of hiring are the most effective and the most widely used channels.

Ullman and Taylor (1965), motivated by the unemployment problem and interested in the information system in a changing labour market, conducted research in two situations of changing markets in Chicago, viz. the market for key punch operators and for the unskilled negro males. In the first case, there was a tight supply, but in the second, there was an oversupply, with acute employment problems.

The authors theorize that the function of information system in any market is to bring the buyers and sellers (of jobs) together, and among the two methods viz. formal and informal, the workers or the employers presumably use the lowest cost information channel available.

In the case of the key punch operators in Chicago, the researchers found that the largest percentage of job placements, i.e. 34.85%, were done through what they called "employee referrals" and another 2.1% by other referrals (p. 278). Interviews with the employers and the workers revealed that both prefer this channel. The employers' preference was based on the "low cost" of such channels and on the superior quality of employee's referral. The workers had the advantage of knowing more about the job from co-workers in advance, and having a friend at the place where they were employed.

There was little demand for unskilled Black workers. In their case, the findings show that the channels of hiring are specific to supply and demand of labour. As the jobs became less, the informal sources of information became less effective. The reason was that the social networks of the unemployed contained mostly other unemployed workers who, it was surmised, would hesitate to pass job information to other workers in similar situations. The result was that the formal means became more effective.

The interviews with 151 Blacks in 1963-64 showed a shift from informal to formal channels of information as the job market became tight (p. 294). For the first job in 1963, 85% used informal means and 15% used other means. For the most recent job in 1963, 66% used informal means and 33% used other means. The authors' conclusion was that though there is this relative shift, the unskilled Black workers also adopt the informal means of job search more than any other means.

Sheppard and Belitsky conducted a study of 455 blue collar workers of whom 309 were males and 146 females, in Eric Pennsylvania,

in 1964 and published two reports in 1966 and 1968. Of the two main concerns of the study, one was to analyze the relative effectiveness of various sources of job procurement by the job seekers.

Their main finding which is relevant for our study, was that most of the workers received information concerning the job they finally got from their friends or relatives or other co-workers (1968:4). The second channel used was what the authors call "wide ranging techniques" by which they mean a direct inquiry at the company's office whether it needed workers or not.

All the respondents were asked which of the following 8 different techniques and sources they used:

> 1) employment services; 2) direct application; 3) private employment agencies; 4) unions; 5) friends and relatives; 6) newspaper ads; 7) government agencies; or 8) religious, welfare, voluntary organizations, etc.

The conclusion drawn, on the basis of answers received to this question was:

> "Use of friends and relatives was by far most effective...twice as effective as the use of direct company application and employment services...and eleven times as effective as the use of newspaper ads." (1966;6)

One interesting side light of this study was the realization that despite the greatest effectiveness of this technique, the workers themselves rated it a poor third in the list of five alternatives. This finding gets confirmation in a later study by Anderson (1974) when she reports that the Portugese immigrants to Canada seeking jobs seem unaware of the fact that their job and mobility chances depend to

a large extent on the type of social network into which they enter. They feel that their economic success is the result of their own efforts and their luck.

This review of the studies on the blue collar workers clearly shows that these studies are remarkably similar in their conclusion, viz: that the formal means of job search and job allocation were much less widely used by the workers as well as their employers and were less effective than the informal means particularly interpersonal channels, grapevine, employees referrals, etc. Together they present weighty evidence in support of the contention that social networks of the blue-collar workers play a very important role in their job placement and occupational mobility.

A few studies have also been conducted on white collar workers, such as managers, professionals, professors, engineers, etc., which support the above contention. These include Katz (1958) work on managers, Shapero et al's (1965) research on engineers, Caplow and McGee (1958) study of academicians, Brown's (1965, 1967) studies of college professors, Harvey's (1972) study of university graduates and Granovetter's (1974) research on professional, technical and managerial workers. We shall examine some of these studies.

Katz (1958), having surveyed the published research, pointed out that, after Hawthorn's famous experimental studies on the workers in an electric company, it was generally recognized that the workers form informal groups within the industrial concerns. But this important social fact had not been noted for the professionals and managers. He discovered that these findings were valid for the latter group too, who utilize such informal contacts in search of new jobs.

According to him, the professional networks differ from the networks of those in other occupations, by being more geographically spread out all over the country (53) as their contacts originate in a wide variety of social settings, e.g. in business premises, universities, clubs or other organizations.

He suggests that these networks are not intimate like primary groups, in fact the two are contradictory. In wider contacts, personalistic features are excluded and the relations can be limited only to occupational considerations. Such networks are important in providing a lead for social mobility and career development.

> "It is important in this society, where occupation is the primary criterion of social status...and career is seen as a sequence of jobs." (54)

Brown conducted two studies of college professors, or what he called "academic labour market", in 1965 and 1967. The data for the earlier study was collected from 103 new faculty members and 50 department chairmen at 18 of the largest southeastern schools, through personal interviews (p. 7).

He points out that the information flow about jobs and about potential candidates in the universities is very inadequate. In the academic world job seeking is "essentially a task of advertising, making ones availability known to as many potentially helpful persons as possible" (p. 91). Brown's findings about job hunting show that the most widely used and popular first step towards it was to inform friends and professional acquaintances of one's availability. Ninety-five percent of the respondents, looking for jobs, had made one or more contacts of this kind. Graduate students who do not have important professional friends, inform their teachers and fellow students.

Professors, switching jobs, alert their former teachers, former graduate school friends, co-authors, acquaintances made at graduate schools and former students.

> "When job hunting...(one) quickly learns that a friend and professional acquaintance is anyone who they have met and who might know something about a vacancy somewhere, or might know someone who does." (p. 92)

Brown states that 35% of the respondents attended conventions solely for the purpose of letting their fellow professionals know that they were dissatisfied with their present job and would like a change.

For locating a candidate for hiring, "personal and professional contacts are relied upon heavily" (1965:94), by the departmental chairmen. In Brown's 1965 study, 71% of the departmental chairmen contacted friends for the names of suitable candidates. In his 1967 study of college professors, he discovered that 87% used informal methods, and 65% used personal contacts (p. 43).

Marshall (1963) comes to an essentially similar conclusion in his study of 349 economics departments in the U.S. The conclusion of these studies also confirms the essentially similar findings of an earlier study of college teachers by Caplow and McGee (1958).

Harvey's (1972) study of university graduates conducted in Ontario shows that they rarely find jobs through advertisement or agencies. Once they establish some weak ties in their first job, universalistic methods are largely unnecessary. He found an interesting differential on the basis of sex relevant to our purposes. He points out that women make slightly more use of universalistic methods than do males (1972:86). This suggests that "job information networks

are sex specific". It means that either their social networks discriminate against the females, or that women are usually in low paying occupations about which less information travels through networks.

Granovetter (1974) conducted a study of the professional, technical and managerial workers (called PTM workers, p. 6) in Newton, Massechusetts seeking to answer the question: how do they find jobs? The study was based on the interviews with 282 PTM workers and is important because it deals specifically with contacts and careers. He discovered that they use three basic ways of finding work, viz. personal contacts, direct applications and formal means which included the use of the services of impersonal intermediaries e.g. agencies, ads, and placement services, etc. His findings concerning the effectiveness of these ways are as follows:

> 56% used personal contacts, originally, unrelated to the job;
>
> 18.8% used direct application to the company, without any intermediary;
>
> 18.8% used services of the impersonal intermediaries, e.g. agencies, etc.; and
>
> 9% used miscellaneous means (p. 11).

This shows that a network of personal contacts is the most widely used and "preferred" means of the job search and hiring. This preference, he says, can be justified on cost-benefit basis, as both the employers and the employees find interpersonal channels to be "cheap". Information in the modern world is expensive and is usually supplied either for the direct compensation one receives as, for example, agencies do, or for the sake of personal contacts, which is the least costly way of securing it.

Granovetter, on the basis of his findings, points out that the common sense assumption that one's close friends and relatives are better motivated to give job information, is not true. There is a structural tendency that those with whom one has "weak ties" are more strategically placed to have better access to job information, because they are more likely to move in different circles from the job seeker's own circle. Rapaport and Horvath (1961) and Laumann and Shuman (1967) show that the information transmitted via weak ties, reaches a larger number of persons. This occurs because in the circles of persons who are strongly tied, or overlap, all of them are likely to be in the same information pool.

From these findings, two things follow:

(1) Measuring the strength of the relationship, by the index of the amount of time spent together, Granovetter concluded the following. Of those in the interview sample who found their jobs through their contacts:

> 16.7% were seeing their contacts often;
> 55.6% were seeing them occasionally; and
> 27.5% saw them rarely. (p. 53)

> "It is a clear indication of primacy of structure over motivation; close friends might indeed have been more disposed than acquaintances to use influence, but were simply less often in a position to do so" (p. 54).

He suggests that this paradox might be resolved by his findings that, (a) where weak ties are used, respondents said they were not likely to be under any social pressure and (b) there was a general reluctance to find work through friends as it might "lead" to complications and overstraining of the relationship.

(2) Secondly, Granovetter discovered that, compared to mass media, the transmission of job information through personal contacts reaches a much wider circle, because there are often chains of intermediaries between the origin of the information and the destination of information (p. 55), i.e. from A-B-C-D. The "chain length" according to Granovetter is important. It can show how many people have ever heard about the job opening, filled by X. If we assume that each person in such information chains tells a certain number of persons each of whom in turn tells another set of persons, and so on (and this increases very fast), we can estimate how many persons have heard about the job.

We can conclude then, that even the research on the white collar workers demonstrates that the use and manipulation of their social networks for job search and mobility search is as wide spread and as effective in the white collar world, as in the blue collar world.

THE STUDIES UTILIZING THE CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL NETWORK IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IMMIGRANT'S ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

INTRODUCTION

Though there exists a fairly extensive literature on the immigrants in Canada, very little of it, as we saw earlier, deals with the importance of the social networks of the immigrants for their economic adjustment. Among the writers of general works, Richmond

(1967, 1972, 1975) for example, has done a great deal of work on the immigrants in Canada. Others like Woodsworth (1909), Timlin (1951), Angus (1946), Vallee (1975), Breton (1968), Corbett (1957), Rawlyk (1962), Sedgwick (1970), and Hawkins (1972), have all been interested in the problems of the immigrants and immigration. The report of the Royal Commission on Biligualism and Biculturalism, Book IV (1970), Ethnic Histories (1972), Reports of the Canada Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1961, 1962, 1965, 1970) all contain considerable information on the various groups of the immigrants.

Besides, there are a number of studies on the specific immigrant groups. For example, to mention only a few, on the Ukrainians (Young 1931, Yuzyk 1953, Hobart et al 1965), the Hungarians (Kosa 1954), the Italians (McDonald & McDonald 1964, Hobart 1966), the Greeks (Nagata 1969, Gavaki 1977), the Japanese (Laviolette 1948), the West Indians (Ramacharan 1970, Turrittin 1976), the Portugese (Andersen 1974) and on the Jewish immigrants (Kage 1962). Most of these and many other studies, are concerned primarily with the social and cultural adjustment of the immigrants, with occasional information on the condition of their economic adjustment. Only two deal specifically with the positive role played by the social networks of the immigrants in their economic integration into the Canadian society.

None of the studies on the immigrants, with the exception of Boyd's Study (1977) is concerned with the immigrant woman worker. Boyd's study deals with the important issue of the underestimation of the contributions of the immigrant women to the Canadian economy, but not with social network support for their economic integration.

A considerable amount of literature can also be found on the East Indians in Canada (Canadian Ethnic Studies 1977). Much of this literature is either historical-political, anthropological journalistic, or cultural (Bose 1965, 1971, Daniels 1974, Hardwick 1974, Ames and Inglis 1968, 1974, Ashworth 1975, Banerjee 1964, Bhatti 1974, Deol 1969, Muthamma 1975, Ghose 1919, Hendin 1965, Holland 1943, Report of Khalsa Diwan Singh Society 1947). Some of it deals with the question of discrimination (McKelvie 1943, Broad 1913, Chandra 1961, Furguson 1975, Gardner 1958) and some with the immigrant workers (Arora 1960, 1967, Canada Department of Manpower & Immigration 1970, King 1908, Das 1923, Kumar 1912). There are also some specific studies on the East Indians in various parts of North America (Bagai 1967, Bains 1974, Basran 1976, Bradfield 1970, Hess 1969, 1974, Indra 1977, Jain 1971 (statistical profile), Johnson 1921, Misrow 1915 published in 1971, Lal 1976, Malik 1956, Munday 1953, Pannu 1966, Praeira 1971, Shastri 1922, G. Singh 1946, Solânki 1973, Paul 1972, 1975, 1977, Shankhar 1971, Wenzel 1966, Scanlon 1975). However, no published study is to be found on the East Indian working women in general.

Despite this plethora of literature, there is very little to review which is of direct relevance to the present research. This scarcity clearly indicates the need for further research in this area—a need which the present study is intended to help fulfill.

The four studies reviewed below, comprise the literature relevant to the topic under investigation.

The earliest, apparently the only, study on the immigrant women workers was first published in 1930. Though it does not deal particularly with the immigrant women's social networks, it does

indicate the crucial importance of such networks for their occupational placement.

Manning (1970) conducted a study on 2,000 immigrant women in Philadelphia and Leight Valley, working in the cigar factory and wool weaving industry. They came from England, Ireland and all parts of Europe (:3). Three-fourths of them (:135) were young and unmarried, and came from destitute families. They came alone because their relatives and friends in the United States assured them that the girls could earn money easily there.

The author reported that of the 2,000 women, 1,235 (:103-4) found work through their friends and relatives, in the places where their friends worked, i.e. in the two above-mentioned industries. Their friends recommended the new arrivals to the employers and got them the jobs. Those women who had no relatives or friends in the United States were helped by their fellow countrymen.

> "A great number of women never considered working except in places where their friends were employed, and they would not go where there was no common language...they preferred to work for the ethnic bosses." (:103)

The research indicates that, as early as 1927, the social networks of these women helped them to get settled in their new homeland by finding them jobs in places where language was no barrier. Though their economic condition was quite poor, the study suggests that without their ethnic network support, most of these women would have been totally destitute. Thus, their ethnic networks appear to be crucial to their economic adjustment to the American society.

McDonald and McDonald's (1964) research on the successive waves of the Italian immigrants in the northern U.S. cities, was

conducted with a view studying chain migration. They argue that the present day migration is far more complex than can be explained by crude economic "pull-push" factors; it is the sociological factor of chain migration which has become important. Chain migration is the process by which the perspective immigrants learn of the opportunities through their contacts in the new country, and many are provided with money for transportation; initial accommodation and employment is also arranged by means of primary social relations with the previous immigrants. Thus, it is distinct from impersonally organized immigration and is exemplified by the process of sponsorship.

The findings of this research show that the Italians--like most immigrants—have come with the express aid of their friends in America and were clustered in the same towns where they had their ethnic networks. It has led to the formation of "little Italies" (:96) and has also resulted in chain occupations, i.e. particular occupational niches to which the pre-established immigrants directed their fellow Italians on the basis of their own experience. The authors conclude that if the ties of the immigrants with their homeland, which provide feedback information and assistance to the potential immigrants were served, chain migration would not operate. Such migration is entirely based on social network ties.

Anderson's (1974) study of the Portugese in Toronto deserves special mention because to date, it is the only full length work dealing with the concept of social networks in the context of immigrants' economic integration within Canada. She conducted a study of 200 Portugese construction workers, in Toronto, in 1973. Her main findings were that the Portugese ethnic networks help the new immi-

grants in their employment search by giving them information about jobs and often by introducing and recommending them to the prospective employers, mostly in places where they themselves work. The information about the jobs and access to them are "properties of particular networks rather than of single individuals or of the entire ethnic group; which network an immigrant enters on arrival therefore significantly affects his/her job opportunities" (p. xiii). Some jobs are what Anderson calls "traps" while others are "stepping stones" to mobility. Hence the kind of job controlled by the immigrants' network also affects his or her long term mobility chances.

The importance of Anderson's study lies, in part, in some of the surprising conclusions and in the resulting policy implications it carries for immigration and immigrant employment. For example, it shows that the immigrants do not come, as was supposed earlier, unprepared to a new, friendless or hostile land but join friends and relatives. It also shows that in getting employment, network contacts or "whom you know" seems to be more important than "what you know" (p. 2). The immigrants themselves, however, are not aware of this process and tend to look upon their success or failure as the consequence of their individual efforts and luck.

Another important issue that gets highlighted by this research, is the role of education in economic success. In Andersons' study, the educational background of the lower class immigrants is not found to be related to their occupational success. The findings show that "there is no statistically significant difference in terms of income attainment...between those who had five years or more of formal education and those who receive one to four years..." (p. 55). In

fact a number of Portugese immigrants are "low priority from the current educational standards of immigration policy" with its major emphasis on education and training. Many enter "illegally as tourists, make good and regularize their statuses later" (p. 80). Second in importance to their social networks, "age...intertwined with Canadian experience" (p. 60) was found to be related most significantly to their occupational success. These findings suggest a change may be required in the current rationale and practice of screening for immigration.

The last study to be reviewed in this section is, in intent, similar to the research undertaken here, but entirely different in methodology and range. Turrittin (1976) conducted a research on the West Indian immigrant women who came to Toronto as domestic workers. The research is based on case studies of 15 women from Monteserrat, an island in the West Indies. The purpose of these case studies was to show how a group of immigrants create and use their social networks to facilitate their geographical and occupational mobility (p. 305). Unlike migration from other parts of the world (Richmond 1967, Hawkins 1972), West Indian immigrants to Canada are largely female. All the women in the sample except one were unmarried. Two-thirds started as domestic workers but at the time of the research everyone had moved to higher occupations, such as factory workers, nurses, clerical workers, keypunch operators, etc. (p. 309).

It is important to note that, because of the stereotyping of the West Indian women as domestic workers, initially, white Canadian women ("brokers") helped sponsor many of them in migrating to Canada and gave them work. This initial sponsorship is in contrast to

Anderson's finding about the Portugese males who depend heavily on their relatives and friends already settled in Canada. Once these West Indian women got settled, (a) they initiated a chain of migration from their island to Toronto by sponsoring their relatives and (b) they began to depend less on the white Canadians because they generally established their own new networks mostly based on the island friendships. These friendships are very significant in their lives as Cole (1967) and Henry (1968) found as well. (c) Once they gain a foothold in the domestic work, they try to leave it and seek work in blue or white collar occupations with the help of their social network. Turrittin found that the information about the availability of Manpower financed training programmes comes to these women from their West Indian friends and acquaintances.

> "The ability of these women to manipulate social relationships and particularly to make use of new friends met in Canada enables them to move out of domestic work into the blue collar world, to get into the school system and to move into white collar jobs...the use of their social networks... has been crucial in aiding their mobility in Canada;...as sources of information regarding jobs, and specific educational opportunites." (p. 308)

In conclusion, the use of their networks has thus been found crucial in aiding the mobility of these West Indian women in Canada. Turrittin points out that though these women have been considered for jobs on the basis of a racist stereotype, and face many barriers, by the use of their networks, they have been able to move out of domestic work and to be upwardly mobile.

The studies examined above, suggest that almost all the social networks of the immigrants are rooted in their home-based

friendships. The reason, as we saw before, is that much of the migration in the modern world is chain migration (Anderson 1974, McDonald 1964). The successive immigrants often seek employment under the direction of their friends who are already established here. This fact leads to a further important conclusion, viz. that to a large extent the employment chances and the mobility chances of the immigrants are, in part, already determined, before they enter Canada, by the kind of networks which they will enter. More precisely it means that their social networks may channel them into "dead-end" jobs or, what Anderson calls, "stepping stone" jobs depending upon the kind of networks with which they become involved.

We can sum up the main point of the conclusion by pointing out that the employment search and hiring, like any other human activity, is a social process, not a purely economic process which could be described in terms of the buyer and seller of jobs within the given market conditions. Between jobs and men, Granovetter points out, a matching process goes on. How is this matching done? The answer of the traditional economic analysis, in simple terms, is that the "buyers and sellers" of the job are brought together by the medium of price which is jointly agreed upon by both (Holt and David 1966, Stigler 1962). But Lester (1966:19) points out that a host of institutional factors intervene and prevent the carrying out of this agreement. So the price does not match men with jobs. The relevant factor, the sociologist points out, is social. It is "persons" who match men with jobs. The employment process is heavily embedded in other social processes that "constrain its course and determine its result." These "other" social processes are the interchanges and

exchanges by persons within their social networks, like meeting of obligations, extension of services and goods.

CONCLUSIONS

Many sociologists argue that, as societies gradually modernize, different societal functions—the economic, the educational, the religious, the socialization—all of which were once performed by the family, get differentiated and entrusted to "specialized institutions and personnel." Parsons (1961;230) believes that, as differentiation proceeds, the ascriptive, particularlistic procedures fade. Differentiation can be viewed as a process of "emancipation from particularlistic ties", instead, emphasis gets placed on the universalistic criteria, e.g. the individual achievement in recruitment procedures. Levy (1966:54) seems to imply that particularism in modern economy is a kind of "intrusion", or "residual" on the generally universalistic procedures.

But, the literature examined above seems to contradict this assumption, and forces one to conclude that extensive particularism, in the form of the use of social network support, persists in modern economy, and has been justified on rational grounds.

These rational grounds, according to Granovetter (1974:96) consist of cost-benefit considerations. The social networks mainly function, as is brought out by these studies, as information channels as well as information filtering mechanisms, for both the employers and workers. They reason, correctly, that information through per-

sonal contacts means "better" information. Rees (1966:560) makes a distinction between the intensive and the extensive aspect of information. The intensive aspect of information which is useful in the labour market, refers to getting more information about the same person, rather than getting sketchy information about a number of persons.

Granovetter (1974:97) points out that usually people not only strive to secure complete information, but attempt to filter out some, else it would become unmanageable. Now though the psychological aspect of the limits of human information-processing capacity has been well researched (Broadbent 1958), little attention has been paid to the sociological aspects of this activity. Granovetter (1974) suggests that we can look upon personal contacts as the social mechanisms used simultaneously to gather, as well as to screen out, some information, and in the case of jobs this is the most efficient procedure for so doing.

In the case of hiring, some general criteria or qualifications, like education, training, etc., are laid down, to narrow the range of potential workers. But even then, the number remains unmanageable. "Personal contacts narrow the range 'within' this already narrowed group, and do so at less cost than other methods" (p. 98). Workers know this. They also find that getting job information from formal sources is sketchy and expensive, whereas the information coming through their contacts will be more detailed as well as free. Ozga (1969), in fact, discovered that most of the job information is transmitted to others, freely, as a by-product of other social exchanges, quite unrelated to job search. So we conclude that the

instrumental aspect of social network persists because it is least costly and most effective. In Mayhew's words,

> "The source of staying power and functional capacity of ascriptive, (particularistic) behaviour in modern societies can be stated by saying it is cheap. It involves using an existent, pre-established structure as a resource rather than creating new structures for the same purpose." (1969:110)

This pre-existing structure, viz. the social networks, proves to be even more significant in the case of the occupational integration of the immigrant workers. For some of them, this may be the only available channel of job information and recommendation, whereas some may need it because they face special problems.

The most difficult problem, facing a great number of immigrants, particularly women in their occupational search, is the language problem. Here the ethnic social network support becomes absolutely indispensable, in that the immigrants require a special kind of information which can only come from their ethnic networks; for example, information about the jobs where language will be no serious barrier. The friends of the new arrivals often inform them of the places where work involves little verbal or written communication, or where other fellow ethnics work or supervise the work, or of some specific ethnic business concerns, etc. This kind of ethnic network support is particularly required in the case of less educated blue collar workers.

This particular factor leads to an unintended social consequence in the case of the immigrants viz. that it results in what can be termed "ethnic clustering" in certain occupations and stereotyping of certain occupations, specially at the low paying level. For

example, the West Indian women are stereotyped as going into domestic service, Chinese in laundry and restaurant work, East Indian and Chinese women in the clothing industry, etc. Even when some immigrants move out of the stereotypical occupations, perhaps by the use of their contacts, other immigrants get channelled into these occupations by their contacts and the clustering continues.

We can finally conclude then that there is sufficient evidence in the sociological literature that social networks of people in general and immigrants in particular are functionally very significant in their occupational adjustment and mobility quest. But this conclusion is fairly general. We need to understand the specifics of this process in terms of the relationships between social network characteristics and the occupational integration of E.I. women. For this purpose a series of 8 hypotheses have been drawn from the relevant literature on social networks and women's work force participation. The main thrust of those hypotheses is to discover the normative effects of the social networks on E.I. women's attitude towards work and mobility, as well as the functional importance of social networks in their actual placement and mobility.

The hypotheses are listed below.

HYPOTHESIS I

The working status of women in the social networks of the E.I. women will be positively associated with their work aspiration.

HYPOTHESIS 2

The male social networks to which E.I. women have access is more frequently a source of actual job placement than are their female social networks.

HYPOTHESIS 3

The ethnic networks of the E.I. women are more frequently a source of their actual placement than are their non-ethnic networks.

HYPOTHESIS 4

There will be found a similarity between the occupational class and category of E.I. immigrant women's present job and the occupational class and category of the present job of their female social networks.

HYPOTHESIS 5

The occupational status of women in the social networks of E.I. women will be positively associated with their occupational commitment (continued employment).

HYPOTHESIS 6

The E.I. women who come in contact with women having higher occupational status will show more interest in occupational mobility than those who have not.

HYPOTHESIS 7

The jobs found through the female social networks of E.I. women are less frequently "stepping stone" jobs than the jobs found through their male networks.

HYPOTHESIS 8

The E.I. women having social networks in which the median occupational level is high will tend to find "stepping stone" jobs; and those who have social networks in which median occupational status is low will tend to find dead end jobs.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapter, we developed a series of hypotheses, drawn mainly from the general literature on social network theory. This chapter is concerned with laying down the basic research methodology used to test those hypotheses. More specifically, it contains a discussion of the following methodological procedures.

(1) Operationalization of the concepts and choice of control variables;

(2) Specification of the population and sample;

(3) Construction of interview schedule and the interview process; and

(4) Data processing, coding and data analysis.

Although the study was designed to test a number of hypotheses its essentially exploratory nature should be kept in mind.

THE OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS

The hypotheses stated in Chapter III presume certain concepts or variables, which remain in the realm of theoretical formulation. These concepts, in fact most concepts such as "social status" are rich in meaning and contain a variety of dimensions. Hence they must be viewed as summaries of complex social phenomena; they are "codifications of experience or observation" (Babbie, 1973:133). But

for rigorous emphirical research, such general concepts need to be specified, i.e. they need to be reduced to specific, empirical observations or indicators; in other words they must be operationalized. Here it is important to note that the operationalization of all concepts is arbitrary i.e. there is no "accurate" operationalization of a concept, only a "useful" one, depending upon the purpose of the investigator. Accordingly such operationalizations might differ from study to study.

The concepts which are used in the present research, are listed below and were operationalized as indicated:

(1) Social Networks: The following categories of relationship were taken as constituting social networks; (a) relatives (b) friends (c) neighbours (d) co-workers (e) supervisors/ bosses (f) friends of friends. The women interviewed were asked to write a list of names of persons (males and females separately) in their social networks on a card provided by the investigator. The card had two columns. In the first column she was asked to write names of the following categories of persons: (a) relatives who she meets regularly; (b) friends she sees once a month or more frequently on a social basis; (c) colleagues at work she has coffee or lunch with; (d) colleagues she invits and gets invited by; and (e) casual acquaintances.

The purpose of this categorization was to assess primary network versus casual acquaintances.

In the second column she was asked to list the names of persons (males and females separately) from whom she received job information leading to her actual placement. It ranged from first job

to eighth job. The investigator then asked her to give information on the following variables for each contact who gave her job information: (a) relationship (b) occupation (c) ethnicity (d) national origin, and (e) whether this was a homeland contact or Canada contact. This information alone was recorded, and the card with actual names was left with the respondent. (The purpose of having her list all the names was to ensure that she remembered all her contacts, and to give her a sense of participation.) In view of the difference between (a) the male and female networks and, (b) the fact that the information about jobs may reach the respondent through her husband, the relevant social networks were classed as: (a) the respondent's own male or female networks, and (b) her husband's male or female networks.

The questions concerning job information obtained from network members were asked in several stages, each having reference to a different component of the concept of social network. The respondents were asked the following questions:

1) From whom did you obtain the job information directly?

2) From whom did you obtain the job information indirectly (through the husband)?

These sources were then recorded.

(2) Occupational Status: In order to determine the occupational status of the respondents, the occupational class scale constructed by B. Blishen (1964)* was used. Although this scale was

* The investigator learned about Blishen's revised scale (1976) only after the data were collected and analyzed. A comparison of the two scales revealed that though there is difference in the ranking of individual occupations, for the purpose of the present study, which is concerned with broad divisions ((a) 7 occupational classes, and (b) high versus low level of occupational status) these differences are not that important. The broad divisions are approximately similar in both scales.

constructed about 10 years ago, it is chosen for several reasons. This is the only comprehensive scale constructed for ranking occupations in Canada. Rank correlations have been worked out between the "ratings of occupational prestige in this scale and those of the other countries" (viz. U.S. 0.94, Germany 0.74, Great Britain 0.85, New Zealand 0.89, and Japan 0.90 (1964:451)). These high correlations indicate that this occupational scale reflects the same variables which underlie these other prestige scales. This scale has been used to determine the social class distribution in other ethnic groups in the Canadian social structure.

It is possible that the ranking of the prestige of some occupations would have changed due to increased industrialization and more demand for skilled work. However, for the broad occupational class divisions, which are our direct concern, the use of this scale is justified because very few changes would occur across the boundaries of the seven broad occupational class divisions, although some may occur within the boundaries.

(3) Social Class Background: The social class background of the East Indian women was determined, for this study, by ranking and categorizing the reported occupations of their fathers, at the time they left India, into seven occupational prestige categories. These categories were derived from the corroboration, i.e. comparison, of two scales constructed by Blishen (1964) and D'Souza (1962). A committee of three sociologists corroborated the two scales. The reason for this corroboration was that Blishen's scale could not be applied without appropriate modification to the ranking of the prestige of occupations in such a different social setting as in India,

where occupational differentiation has not yet reached the same level as the differentiation in a highly industrialized society like Canada. Therefore, D'Souza's occupational scale (1962) prepared for occupations in India, seemed more relevant. He has rank-ordered 30 occupations in India and divided them into seven prestige categories. Having compared the prestige rankings of occupations in India and Britain, he found a "high degree of agreement" in the social ranking of occupations. Both studies use seven class occupational breakdown, as is also the case with Blishen's (1964) and Hollingshead's (1958) scales.

When an Indian occupation was found in the sample data which was not ranked in the D'Souza scale, then it was independently ranked by the investigator and another sociologist*, and the mean of these two rankings was used.

(4) Work Status: This variable was categorized as working, not working or seeking work.

(5) Occupational Mobility: This was measured by the promotions that the respondents received in her job, or by changes to a different job in terms of the difference between Blishen's (1964) scale score of the first job and the present or last job.

(6) Education: Education was measured by the number of years that a respondent had attended school.

* The other sociologist was a Ph.D student in demography (who has now received his doctorate) of East Indian Origin. The investigator requested his help because he was familiar with both Blishen's scale and D'Souza's scale. Examples of the occupations ranked (which are not included in D'Souza's occupational prestige scale) are the following: 'Banker' was ranked as having rank 3 and 4 by the investigator or her associate. Both ranks fall in the occupational prestige class II. Similarly, 'welder' was ranked as having rank 22 and 24. These ranks fall in the occupational class V.

(7) Recent Arrivals: Recent arrivals were characterized as those who had lived in Canada for the last 10 years or less.

(8) Long Term Residents: Long term residents were characterized as those who had lived in Canada for 10 years or more.

(9) Stepping Stone Jobs: Stepping stone jobs were characterized as those which have promotion possiblity, or where on-the-job experience is useful for getting a higher paying job. Women were asked whether their job is such that can qualify them for better, i.e. higher paying or more prestigeious jobs. If the answer was yes, it was considered a stepping stone job. Most obvious examples of such jobs were teaching, nursing, secretarial work, and social work.

(10) Trap Jobs or Dead End: Trap jobs were characterized as those which contain no promotion possiblity or where on-the-job experience is not useful for getting a higher paying job. When the answer to the above question was no, the job was categorized as a dead end job. This category contained such jobs as babysitting, housekeeping, kitchen aid, laundry aid and janitorial work where experience does not count.

(11) Channels for Job Information: Such channels were classified in terms of the following categories: 1) social networks as specified above; 2) manpower agencies; 3) newspaper ads; 4) "wide-ranging tactics"; 5) direct application (Sheppard and Belitsky 1966, Anderson 1974).

THE CONTROL VARIABLES

As in all social phenomena, there are a very large number of factors which differentially affect the occupational adjustment of East Indian immigrant women in Canada. For the purpose of gaining deeper insight into their occupational adjustment, the following variables were selected as control variables. Most of these are found significant in the case of North American women workers and it was expected that some would have similar effects on the East Indian women's work situation. They include: (1) family; (2) education; (3) social class, and (4) duration of stay. While there is no reason to discuss them at any length, their general relevance for women's work will be indicated.

(1) Family Variables: Family variables are believed to be the most important set of variable, uniquely affecting married women's employment and their attitudes towards employment (Fogarty 1971, Epstein 1970, Myrdal and Klein 1956, Kieren 1970, Gold 1969, Altman 1964, Canada Women's Bureau 1965). Unlike most men, most women have to work within the constraints of their family situation which makes their work pattern, work experience and work level significantly different from those of most men. Moreover, these constraints are believed to be distinctively characteristic of Indian working wives. For this reason the discussion of the family situation of East Indian women requires special treatment.

Family variables are viewed under the two categories of (1) husband's influence, and (2) child-related influences.

The other three control variables were selected because they were seen as most relevant, not only in the sociological literature on women, but also in the initial findings from a small pilot study conducted before the final drafting of the questionnaire. In the case of education many studies have shown that better educated women are more likely to be working continuously to get higher paying jobs and to have higher work aspirations and work commitments than women with less education. In terms of social class differential, it was observed that the lower middle-class East Indian immigrant women were less likely to work, as compared to the upper middle-class and working-class women. This might be because lower middle-class people have more conservative attitudes toward women's employment. Length of stay in Canada was found particularly important for East Indian immigrant women's awareness of and interest in occupational mobility, as well as for their actual mobility.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

SAMPLING FRAME

It was not possible to assess accurately the size of the population under study because the total number of married East Indian women in Vancouver and Edmonton could not be determined from any source. Hence the selection of the sampling frame had to be ingenious. After considering several alternatives a master list of the names of the East Indian married women was collected from

available directories and membership lists of various East Indian organizations in Edmonton and Vancouver. Though these lists do not exhaust the total population under study, they were selected as the sampling frame because no better source of names was available. The members of the East Indian organizations are believed to form a very large and representative sample of the East Indians in Canada, from different religious, regional, cultural, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds. The issue of representativeness of these organizations, was discussed with several ethnic leaders, key persons in organizations, workers (especially of East Indian origin) from the Immigrant Aid Services, priests from temples and mosques, community workers and editors of ethnic newspapers. These people are constantly in touch with the organizations and were expected to have informed judgement. On their judgement that the members of these organizations represent East Indian communities, an East Indian statistician was consulted both in his ethnic as well as in his professional capacity, and his view was that these organizations can be the basis of a statistically sound sampling frame, enabling the investigator to draw a sample which would be reasonably representative of the total population.

The overlap of members in the membership lists from these organizations was eliminated before constructing the final sampling frame.

SAMPLE

A total sample of 300 married East Indian women from Edmonton and Vancouver was drawn on a quota basis from the lists of all the organizations, proportionate to the number of members in each organization. A systematic sampling procedure was used in drawing the names of the respondents from each organization. Quota sampling procedure was used so as to include as many diverse elements as possible, since these organizations serve different purposs and therefore attract different kinds of persons. It was expected that this method of drawing the sample would give a quasi-representativeness to the sample, and that the findings of the study would thus have a reasonable generalizability to the total population.

The research design specified interviewing a sample of 200 married East Indian women in Vancouver and 100 married East Indian women in Edmonton.* These two groups were seen as experiencing two different social contexts:

(1) Those East Indian women who settled in Vancouver live in a city where there is a well established colony of East Indian immigrants dating back to the turn of the century. As a result, the recent arrivals may receive effective orientation to the new society.

(2) Those recent East Indian women who have settled in a city lacking a pre-established community of compatriots as in Edmonton, would tend to lack effective orientation.

* 93 interview questionnaires were returned in Edmonton and 197 interview questionnaires were returned in Vancouver.

The samples of 200 employed women from Vancouver and 100 employed women from Edmonton permitted making comparisons between them. The purpose of such comparisons was to determine how the social networks affect the search for employment of those involved in long established East Indian networks as compared with that of those who have little access to such local well-established networks.

THE INTERVIEW SETTING

The setting of almost all the interviews was the houses of the respondents, and almost all the interviews were conducted in the evenings or on weekends as the sample consisted of working women only. This particular circumstance gave rise to a peculiar, unfortunate social consequence in about three-fourths of the cases in both the locations, which has some implications for the findings of this study. In these cases, the interviews were not conducted in privacy because either the husband and/or the children, or other relatives were present. These persons sometimes contributed to the answers. Here a question can be raised about the reliability of this "group response" as an indication of the sentiments of the respondent herself. Unfortunately, it was not possible consistently to arrange for interviews which would be free of such outside influence.

* 93 interview questionnaires were returned in Edmonton and 197 interview questionnaires were returned in Vancouver.

INTERVIEWING SCHEDULE

The actual data collection involved the use of an interview schedule devised for this study. It contained questions on socio-economic background, reasons for migrating, modes of migration, and occupational history in India and in Canada. Many questions were included to bring out different aspects of their social networks. Particular attention was given to job-hunting techniques, sources from which information on employment opportunities was sought, various jobs which were sought or held, their mobility potential, wage levels, raises obtained, and actual mobility. Information on husband's attitudes towards wife's work and the attitudes of other kin and social networks were also sought.

A short pre-test of the interview schedule was conducted on 15 women before the final draft was prepared. This pre-test helped eliminate the ambiguous questions and suggested some new dimensions to be tapped, especially in the area of family and work. This second draft of the questionnaire was tested on eight women and the final version was then prepared. Most of the questions were pre-coded using information from the pre-tests to arrive at the coding categories. Some were left as open-ended questions, where coding categories could not be established until data collection was completed.

At the end of the interview, the respondents were asked to write a statement, in their own words, indicating their hopes and dreams and their sense of fulfillment or frustration in their occupational experience in Canada. Those who could not write English were asked to make a statement in their own language, which the interviewer

* 93 interview questionnaires were returned in Edmonton and 197 interview questionnaires were returned in Vancouver.

herself wrote out and read back to them. This gave them the freedom to express such feelings as they might have had which might have escaped the preset categories of the questionnaire. Some of those statements are quoted in later chapters.

THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

The actual process of interviewing was conducted as follows:

Ten female interviewers were hired and trained in Edmonton and in Vancouver to conduct 250* interviews. It was ascertained that they knew English and at least two other East Indian languages (Punjabi and Hindi in most cases). After studying two sheets of instructions as to how to conduct the interviews, they were familiarized with the questionnaire and were then asked to interview each other.

The investigator accompanied each interviewer during her first two interviews and was introduced as a friend. At the end of the interview, the investigator pointed out the problems and shortcomings in each interview. Each interviewer was given a list of ten names at a time out of which she was expected to interview as many as possible. In Edmonton, the investigator and the interviewers met every Wednesday afternoon to discuss the interviewing progress and problems. Each interviewer brought the completed questionnaires to the meeting, and noted the sample members who were unavailable. The investigator supplied lists of substitute interviewees selected according to the procedure described below, as necessary.

* The investigator conducted 30 interviews in Edmonton and 20 in Vancouver.

In Vancouver, the same procedure was followed for the three weeks which it took for the investigator to hire and start the interviews. Before returning to Edmonton the investigator hired a field director who acted in the capacity of a supervisor directing the interviewers, providing lists of substitute interviewees and solving other kinds of problems.

Discussion of the interviews with the interviewers revealed that the lack of privacy during many of the interviews did not affect responses to factual questions but may have affected responses to attitudinal questions. In the case of factual questions such as demographic background, migration history, occupational characteristics, or network characteristics, it seems reasonably certain that the answers are quite accurate. Often these women were corrected on dates or numbers by others present. Hence, for this category of responses, lack of privacy did not create any special problems of response reliability.

The case of attitudinal questions however, is different. Analysis showed that some answers are apparently socially desirable, while others may have been influenced by the presence of others. From the interviewer's comments about the "group responses", these can be viewed in three categories: (1) Answers given in the presence of the husband probably affected the response to some questions on family power and sex roles, in terms of making them more acceptable to the husband; (2) In situations where other women were present (sisters, sisters-in-law, and rarely, mothers-in-law), the answers were probably not greatly influenced by their presence, although they may have been colored by this social situation. It is impression of the inves-

tigator that the responses to attitudinal questions probably reflect "group attitudes", but nonetheless genuinely felt attitudes. This is to be taken as a cultural phenonemon since East Indian living and thinking has socially been conditioned to be "group" oriented. Rather than individual thinking, the East Indian way is group thinking; but it does not make such responses false*; and (3) in a few cases women were distracted by their children where children were present, and may have hurried through their answers without thinking too much about them.

The realization that some data reflect "group responses" has made the investigator careful in drawing tentative conclusions concerning the attitudes of these women, care is also taken in drawing conclusions about general population on other factual questions.

THE DISPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

Interviewing the whole of the initial sample of 100 women in Edmonton and 200 in Vancouver was not possible for the reasons explained below.

Only 35% of the original sample in Edmonton and 29% in Vancouver could be interviewed. The disposition of the sample is given below for Edmonton and Vancouver.

* Since East Indians do not demand or greatly need privacy as a cultural way of life, lack of privacy has not seriously coloured all responses in this study, which could be disastrous for a study of, for example, English people.

TABLE IV-I

Disposition of the Sample of East Indian Married Working Women in Edmonton and Vancovuer

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	N=100	%	N=200	%
Number Interviewed	35	35%	58	29%
Unmarried Men*	19	19%	34	17%
Unavailable (Not working)*	32	32%	76	38%
Unwilling	6	6%	14	7%
Non-East Indians	5	5%	6	3%
Miscellaneous	3	3%	12	6%
	100	100	200	100

* The details of "unmarried men" and "unavailable" are explained in the text.

The main problem was the difficulty in locating and contacting all the originally chosen sample members. Many could not be interviewed for a number of reasons. A population of 2,000 male names was established from the membership lists of societies in Edmonton (after eliminating the overlap). Among the total of 100 names initially randomly selected, some had no wives, a fact that could only be established by telephone contact since most lists contained only names and addresses of men. Others could not be located because their addresses and phone numbers had changed. Some of the wives who were located were not working. A very small number of women were unwilling to be interviewed. Finally, about 5% of the wives were not East Indians, as indicated in Table Number IV-I. Lists of substitute sample members were chosen by systematic sampling using appropriate sampling ratios.

In Vancouver, a population of 6,000 names was identified and a random selection of 200 names was made. Again, many of those selected were not available, for the reasons described above. Accordingly, the same substitution technique was used, but more emphasis was placed on choosing from the Sikh and Hindu societies which constitute the largest number of East Indians in greater Vancouver.

Excellent cooperation was typically experienced from the interviewees. Whereas interviewee refusal is frequently a limitaion with other studies, it posed little difficulty in this research since only 7% of the women contacted were unwilling to be interviewed. Of these, 3% said that they were willing to fill the questionnaire if mailed to them. Only one woman was reported to have responded rudely.

On the whole women were interested, curious, and eager to cooperate. The interviewers were always offered food and drinks. One reason for this may be that, at least among the less educated East Indian women, this was a novel experience. Some of them were flattered by the "interest" shown in their affairs. Others felt that they were "giving" some help to the cause of women, and in the East Indian culture "givingness" is considered to be a great and specifically feminine virtue. Thus there was no serious problem of interviewee refusal.

DATA PROCESSING

A code book was prepared by the investigator for use in coding of the data. Four coders were hired and trained in use of the code categories. The interview schedules were coded after being checked for completeness. Special care was given to the coding of occupational status of the respondents and of their female and male social networks, as several hypotheses required occupational status data.

It is appropriate to provide more detail on the coding procedure used with the occupational data. The respondents were asked to give particulars about all the jobs (up to 8 jobs) they had held and also to give the particulars concerning sources of job information. If the source was a person, then his/her sex, ethnicity, occupational status, as well as the origin and the source of contact were recorded. In terms of actual coding all the data of the respon-

dent's first job and the last job, the highest status job and the lowest status job were coded. The occupations of each job of the respondent and of her contact person were ranked according to Blishen's scale and coded. The coding of these data, in this particular form, enabled the investigator to use an objective measure for the actual occupational mobility as well as mobility pattern of the respondents in terms of the difference between the first and the last job's occupational rank and salary.

The open ended questions were also coded and transferred on to code sheets. Thereafter, the data were key-punched and a data tape was prepared for use in the statistical analysis.

THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The data were analysed in two ways for two different purposes.

(1) The aim of the first analysis was to construct a statistical profile of the East Indian working women in the Edmonton and Vancouver sample. Here the analysis consisted of relatively simple, descriptive statistics like percentages and proportions. The statistical data are presented in tabular form and these provide information on the main socio-demographic characteristics of East Indian working women in the sample.

(2) The second analysis was undertaken to test the hypotheses of the study, predicting relationships between the dependent and independent variables. Here the analysis mainly involved cross-

tabulation, to assess whether the predicted relationships were found to be true or not. Non- parametric tests were used to measure the significance and strength of the relationships thus discovered. These tests were selected because most of the variables in this study are either nominal, or at the most, ordinal.

In addition, another statistical measure used to test one hypothesis, at the suggestion of a statistician, was the Index of Dissimilarity. It was used to assess whether or not the respondents move into occupations which are similar to those of their female social networks in Canada. This would enable us to determine ethnic clustering as an unintended consequence of network support.

This chapter, along with the three preceeding ones, completes the first part of our inquiry, which was concerned with theoretical and methodological issues. In the next two chapters the emphasis will be shifted to a different scenario, that is, a portrait of East Indian communities in Edmonton and Vancouver. Chapter V will contain a historical profile of the East Indian communities. Chapter VI will present a socio-demographic profile of East Indian women in the two communities, constructed on the basis of data collected for the purpose of this study.

CHAPTER V

THE EAST INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
THE COMMUNITY SETTING AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
EAST INDIAN COMMUNITY AND THE LARGER SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

There are some historical legends which claim that the East Indians came to the North American continent centuries ago (Muthamma 1975:20). Definite evidence shows that some mercantile people, sailors, missionaries, and business people came to this continent around the middle of the 19th century and then returned home. However, the real migration of the working people of East Indian origins to Canada did not begin until about the end of the 19th century. Like other orientals, i.e. Chinese and Japanese, they first came and settled on the Pacific Coast particularly in California and British Columbia (Misrow 1915:3). The earliest immigrants to Canada consisted of a group of Sikh soldiers who came to England in 1897, to attend Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations. While returning to India, by way of Canada, some of them decided to settle in British Columbia.

In addition, word was spread by the steamship companies, seeking to sell passage and recruit contract labour in Punjab, a Northern province in India, that enormous economic opportunities and

free land were available in Canada. This publicity brought 5,000 East Indians during 1905 - 1907 to Canada. When these East Indians came to British Columbia, they did not find much opportunity or land, and they ended up working at building railroads and in the logging industry (Mayar 1959:7). Almost all these immigrants were males who came with the intention of earning money and returning to India, and a large number did go back.

The census of British Columbia 1904, the first recorded census (Ames and Inglis 1974:17) lists 258 "Hindoos" (a term used as synonymous with East Indians). In 1905 this number was increased by 303, and in 1906, 387 more East Indians came to British Columbia. Their number continued to increase for a time, as indicated in Table V-1, and then declined (Muthamma 1975:32).

People in both British Columbia and California had protested periodically against the immigration of the orientals since 1878 (Muthamma 1975:22). Their demands for definite restrictions on Asian immigrants resulted in such measures being taken as passing the "continuous voyage" regulations, which specified that people from India could only come if they didn't break their journey, which was not possible at that time. In 1907, anti-Asian feelings erupted with particular intensity and the immigration of East Indians completely ceased for the next year (Mayer 1957:6).

During this period, a series of efforts were made by the East Indians to resist this pressure and to enter Canada. The most famous case is that of "Kamagata Maru", the Japanese steamship carrying 376 East Indians in 1914, which was forbidden entry to Vancouver under threat from gunboats (Muthamma 1975, Mayer 1957).

Ame's and Inglis (1974:18) interpretation of this incident is that the East Indians of British Columbia provided funds to charter this ship in order to test the validity of the "continuous passage" law. This incident evoked violence in the community and "has not been forgotten by the East Indian Community".

This early brief history shows that the original immigration of the East Indians in Canada was a source of political controversy and occasional violence. These experiences coloured the structure of the East Indian organizations which were established by the early East Indian settlers in British Columbia, and influenced their early goals and activities.

Various efforts, made by different East Indian organizations resulted in the Canadian Government's allowing a small number of dependents to enter Canada as an "act of grace", after the Imperial Conference of 1917 (Angus 1966:33). As Table V-1 shows, a trickle of immigrants began again after World War I.

By 1920 and 1930, wives and minor children were allowed to join their husbands already in Canada, although only few wealthy men could actually afford to bring in their families to join them.

During the Depression years, the overall numbers of East Indian immigrants decreased till there were only 1,100 East Indians in British Columbia in 1939. Smith (1946:363) estimates that while there were 5,000 East Indian men in British Columbia during the entire pre-World War II period, there were only 400 East Indian women. Family migration was prevented until after the end of World War II (Sivastava 1975, McIness:1927). Family migration has become common only during

TABLE V-1

IMMIGRATION OF EAST INDIANS TO CANADA, 1900 TO 1965*

Years	Total	Years	Total	Years	Total
1900-1901	0	1917-1918	0	1934-1935	33
1901-1902	0	1918-1919	0	1935-1936	21
1902-1903	0	1919-1920	0	1936-1937	13
1903-1904	0	1920-1921	10	1937-1938	14
1904-1905	45	1921-1922	13	1938-1939	14
1905-1906	387	1922-1923	21	1939-1940	11
1906-1907	2,124	1923-1924	40	1940-1941	6
1907-1908	2,623	1924-1925	46	1941-1942	3
1908-1909	6	1925-1926	63	1942-1943	0
1909-1910	10	1926-1927	62	1943-1944	0
1910-1911	5	1927-1928	56	1944-1945	0
1911-1912	3	1928-1929	53	1945-1946	1
1912-1913	5	1929-1930	58	1946-1947	8
1913-1914	88	1930-1931	80	1947-1948	167
1914-1915	0	1931-1932	47	1948-1949	64
1915-1916	1	1932-1933	63	1949-1950	54
1916-1917	0	1933-1934	33		

Years	Total	Years	Total	Years	Total
1950	77	1956	332	1961	772
1951	99	1957	334	1962	830
1952	172	1958	459	1963	1,131
1953	140	1959	741	1964	2,077
1954	177	1960	691	1965	3,491
1955	249				

* From Ames and Inglis, 1973-74, p. 19.

the last 30 years and this has implications for a study of East Indian women.

Table V-1 shows that a gap of almost a generation exists between the pre- and post- World War II immigrants, which, as we shall see, resulted in differences in group compositions in British Columbia and also resulted in the differences between British Columbia and other provinces, e.g. Alberta.

It was only after 1947 that certain changes were introduced in the Canadian Government's immigration policy resulting in a gradual liberalization of immigration laws. It is suggested (Paul 1973, Pannu 1967) that these changes occurred primarily for two reasons: India gained independent status and, the Canadian economy, moving towards expansion, required trained manpower. Hence, immigration from India was regulated by a series of Acts and in 1951, a quota of 150 persons per year was allowed. Later, in 1957, this quota was increased to 300 persons per year and their number increased. For the year 1971 their number in Canada and in the selected provinces is given in Table V-2, and from 1971 to 1977 for all Canada, their breakdown by sex is presented in Table V-3.

These changes resulted in two types of consequences which are relevant for this study.

(1) The requirements of the Canadian economy determined, in large part, the character and type of the new immigrants and set them apart from the old ones; and

(2) The extended sponsorship categories indirectly helped in creating a social setting for the immigrants with home-based social networks in Canada.

We shall examine each of these consequences in turn.

TABLE V-2

EAST INDIANS IN CANADA AND SELECTED PROVINCES*

	M	F	Total
		East Indians	
Canada	35,435	32,490	67,925
Alberta	2,205	2,195	4,400
British Columbia	10,350	8,440	18,715
Ontario	15,895	15,030	30,920
		Indo Pakistanis	
Canada	29,380	22,720	52,100
Alberta	1,755	1,460	3,215
British Columbia	9,365	6,990	16,355
Ontario	12,590	9,850	22,445

* Compiled from "Population" by Ethnic Group and Sex for Canada and (Selected) Provinces - 1971. 1971 Census of Canada, Vol. II, pp. 2-1.

TABLE V-3

NUMBER OF EAST INDIANS ARRIVING IN CANADA FROM 1971 TO 1976 BASED ON COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND SEX OF IMMIGRANTS, INDIA*

Year	M	F
1971	3,184	2,129
1972	2,791	2,258
1973	5,821	3,382
1974	7,265	5,603
1975	4,373	5,771
1976	2,679	4,054
1977	2,195	3,360

Men

Women

* Compiled from Immigration Statistics, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, Tables 4.

The most important point to note is that the post World War II immigration policy was divorced from the earlier preoccupations with "cultural incompatibility" and "racial origin" as discussed earlier. Instead it centred on the selection of immigrants, based on their occupational skill and the size of the employment opportunity existing in Canada (Pannu 1967). The 1962 policy placed emphasis on education, training, skills or other special qualifications of persons who were expected to establish themselves in Canada. As a result of the new policy, not only did the volume of the immigrants increase ten times in 1971, as compared to 1961 and continue to increase thereafter till very recently, but it also changed the character of the recent immigrants in that significant changes occurred in their intended occupations. While a large number of early immigrants were unskilled, the managerial, professional and technical personnel outnumbered the immigrants in "other" occupational categories during most of the 1960's (Department of Manpower and Immigration, yearly publication).

Pannu (1967) writing about the Indian teachers in Alberta, points out that though the number of professional workers from India in absolute terms was small, relative to the East Indian immigrant workers in any year since 1960, it formed a very high proportion—no less than 54%—during the period from 1961 to 1966.

Thus, as a result of the highly selective policy of immigration, there seems to have been an end to the broad based migration characteristic of the earlier East Indian immigration. One reason for the differences between the types of immigrants at different periods, and in different geographical areas (e.g. Edmonton and Vancouver) can thus be found in the vicissitudes of the Canadian immigration policy.

These factors also seem to have some important implications for the East Indian women who came earlier and those who came later. There is no specific historical data on women, but, it may be surmised that as wives of professional men, they would have received more education and come from upper class backgrounds more frequently than the wives of unskilled labourers. Consequently, their work expectations, mobility aspirations and work frustrations would also be different from those of the less-educated women, who came earlier. This does not mean that all women who came later would be educated, because sponsorship categories would allow all kinds of immigrants. But, by and large, certain differences among earlier and later arriving women would be expected due to the changes in Canadian immigration policy.

Looking at the cases of Vancouver and Edmonton in historical perspective, the East Indians today can be viewed as subdivided according to the various phases of immigration. According to Mayer (1959:3-4) and Ames and Inglis (1974:23) there are four categories of East Indian immigrants in Vancouver (which are relevant to the present study) who came during the years 1904-07 and from 1947 to the present.

(1) Early old immigrants, predominantly male (as very few women came), now very few in number, but greatly respected in the E.I. community for their long struggle to gain equal rights with other Canadians.

(2) The immigrants who entered during the twenties and thirties, and who now have children and grandchildren born in Canada.

(3) A large, active, and generally well-to-do group of men and women who migrated since 1947.

(4) Canadian born younger generation.

In Edmonton, on the other hand, very few Canada born or older East Indian people are found. Almost the whole community con-

TABLE V-4

DESTINATION OF EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA, 1954-1964*

A. "East Indian" Immigrants B. From Republic of India

	1954		1955		1956		1957		1958		1959		1960		1961		1962		1963		1964	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Totals	175	100	245	100	330	100	324	100	451	100	716	100	673	100	744	100	529	100	737	100	1,154	100
N.F.	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		4	0.5	7	1.3	3	0.4	1	0.0
P.E.I.	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		4	0.5	0		2	0.2	0	
N.S.	0		0		1	0.3	1	0.3	5	1.1	4	0.6	10	1.5	15	2.0	17	3.2	34	4.6	55	4.8
N.B.	0		0		0		1	0.3	3	0.7	1	0.1	1	0.1	11	1.5	5	0.9	4	0.5	12	1.0
Que.	39	22.3	41	16.7	64	19.3	51	15.7	69	15.3	99	13.8	115	17.1	110	15.0	80	15.1	143	19.4	176	15.3
Ont.	50	28.6	49	20.0	79	24.0	105	32.4	85	19.0	157	21.9	151	22.4	181	24.3	154	29.1	257	35.0	456	39.5
Man.	2	1.0	3	1.2	1	0.3	7	2.2	11	2.4	17	2.4	26	3.9	21	2.8	10	1.9	13	1.7	34	3.0
Sask.	0		1	0.4	0		3	0.9	4	0.8	3	0.4	22	3.3	27	3.6	20	3.8	31	4.2	37	3.2
Alta.	5	3.0	9	3.7	2	0.6	4	1.2	2	0.4	19	2.7	42	6.2	47	6.3	30	5.7	37	5.0	48	4.2
B.C.	79	45.1	142	58.0	183	55.5	152	47.0	272	60.3	416	58.1	306	45.5	324	43.5	206	39.0	211	29.0	335	29.0

* From Ames & Inglis, 1974, p. 22.

sists of post World War II immigrants, most of whom came in the sixties and early seventies.

Ames and Inglis (1974:25-27) point out that in British Columbia, it is the immigrants rather than the Canadian born East Indians who do, and probably will dominate the East Indian community politically and culturally. These recent immigrants are on the average better educated and more highly skilled and therefore better equipped to prosper in British Columbia (1974:24). They are also more numerous than the Canadian born East Indians and "the flow of the immigrants and the frequent return visits to India serves to reinforce the Indianness of the local population despite assimilation pressures".

COMMUNITY SETTING AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

East Indian immigration figures for Canada and the provinces in Table V-4 show that until 1963, Vancouver remained the most "popular destination" of the East Indian immigrants. Thereafter Ontario took the lead. This fact might be explained in terms of the immigrants' social networks and the tendency of ethnic clustering, which is related to the phenomenon of chain migration and sponsorship categories. Mayer (1959:19-21) points out that there is also a strong relationship between kinship and immigration through sponsorhip. In the case of East Indians in Canada, most of the early immigrants were Sikhs. It is likely that as long as the immigration consisted mainly of Sikh immigrants from Punjab, they decided to go to British

Columbia, especially Vancouver, where there was already an established community of Sikh immigrants. Now that there are many Hindu immigrants, most of whom settled in Ontario, the majority of Hindus from other Indian states go and settle there as well. This type of migration, then, facilitates the establishment of the home-based social networks of the immigrants which in turn facilitate their adjustment to their new homeland.

Among the immigrants to Vancouver and Edmonton, two types of social and community life patterns are found, the formal and the informal. Both create webs of overlapping social networks and community life. On the informal level, people have their own kin or ethnic primary group ties formed on the basis of common socio-economic and educational background and sometimes common religious bonds as well. These groupings are like other primary groups anywhere. In addition, a large majority of the East Indian immigrants form or join various East Indian associations or organizations which aim at meeting different needs of the individuals. These are described in the following section.

EAST INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN VANCOUVER AND EDMONTON*

Most of the East Indian organizations in Vancouver and Edmonton have different objectives and functions. Some are mainly

* The information in this section has been collected by interviewing community leaders in Edmonton and Vancouver.

devoted to religious and linguistic functions, such as celebrating religious festivals or conducting classes in their own mother tongue. Some are region-based, presenting regional cultures of India (dance, drama, movies) in their own regional languages. A few have wider interests, embracing those social and political issues that concern the East Indian community in Canada, such as immigration, citizenship, discrimination, etc. These organizations do not collectively constitute a formal institution exercising social control. In Edmonton, they recognize a coordinating organization, as a liaison body among the individual organizations, The Council of India Societies of Edmonton. However, no such organization is found in Vancouver. There is a national body of the East Indians in Canada, The National Association of Canadians of Origins in India (NACOI) which has its head office in Ottawa and various chapters in the provinces. There is a Vancouver chapter and the Council of India Societies in Edmonton has recently applied for the status of a chapter.

The main feature of these organizations, of relevance to the present study, is that they serve diverse purposes for different East Indian groups in Canada. Their memberships too are as diverse as the socio-economic, religious and regional backgrounds and interests of the people. Therefore, their membership can be taken as truly representative of a cross-section of the East Indian community.

All the East Indian organizations have some interconnections. They are primarily interconnected through some overlapping leaders who occupy important positions in different organizations. Thus, one can see a pattern of inter-associational relationship

through interlocking associational leadership (e.g. the President of the Hindu Society is also an important executive member of Indo-Canadian Society). Other leaders serve important functions in different societies. Most of them are professional people or businessmen. Thus, the networks of contact which become established are wide spread and overlapping. However, although there are associational relations the leaders of various associations are often divided on issues of power and ideologies, and even on other personal issues which sometimes lead to open cleavages and divisions. All these influences work to create the rich fabric of a community life, within the larger society, and on occasion result in conflicts and struggles, as well as common interests and cooperation.

Looking at the structure of the organizations in the two cities, in terms of history, purpose, and the needs which they serve for the individuals, one finds differences in Vancouver and Edmonton. In Vancouver, these organizations have been mostly socio-political in nature, whereas Edmonton organizations have been more socio-cultural, although they may become politically similar if the need arises. In fact, several politically oriented organizations were being organized in 1979.

The oldest and largest East Indian organization in Vancouver, with about 6,000 members, is the Khalsa Diwan Society, started in 1908. It serves joint religious socio-political purposes. It looks after the Sikh Temple--the largest temple in British Columbia, which plays both a social and political role in the community life. Their political activity began as early as 1908, when the British Government proposed the removal of East Indians to the

British Honduras. The leaders of the community in Vancouver investigated and rejected that move (Bose and Vishwabharti, 1965). These leaders were the elected representatives at the newly established Sikh Temple. This society was also active in fighting for the equal rights of early East Indian Canadians when they had no right to vote, and also against other discriminatory acts.

This Temple is now gradually becoming a social centre with dwindling political functions. Ames and Inglis (1974:22) state that few political issues arise which require the Temple Committee to intervene between East Indians and the society at large for their protection. The "old ethos of a persecuted minority is gradually dying out". But very recently some issues have again arisen, relating to immigration and discrimination, which may require the intervention of many bodies, especially one like NACOI.

During the late 1940's, some members felt that the religious and secular functions in the community should belong to distinct groups. Hence, a number of other East Indian organizations sprang up in Vancouver. The East Indian Canadian Citizen's Welfare Association, for example, was created in 1950 to represent East Indians, and has been active in negotiating with the government regarding immigration policy. In addition to many other organizations, there is an East Indian Women's Association which is active in voicing women's problems and catering to their needs.

In Edmonton, various organizations were started originally for socio-cultural purposes. Since they were started at a time when there were no political issues to be attacked, they serve mostly the cultural and religious needs of East Indian Edmontonians. Most

remain primarily ethnically enclosed. The Indo-Canadian Society has attempted to establish contact with the larger society and introduce some political issues in addition to socio-cultural concerns. Not until 1978, was SAFERR (South Asians for Equal Rights and Responsibilities) created, which is directly concerned with the relational aspect between minority-majority ethnic groups and is thereby committed to make contact with the members of the larger society, and build understanding between the two cultures.

THE EAST INDIAN COMMUNITY AND THE LARGER SOCIETY

Discussion of the East Indian community in the larger Canadian society involves viewing it in relational perspectives, and this involves issues larger than those of one community. Briefly speaking, Canada is now a multi-cultural society, and the essential basis of a multi-cultural society is the recognition of the equality of various ethnic groups. This is what distinguishes a "vertical mosaic" society from a "cultural mosaic". Canadian society has been labelled by Porter (1965) as a "vertical mosaic", and this concept was reaffirmed by Kellner (1970), Richmond (1969) and Hugh and Kallen (1974). It means that the social class lines in Canada coincide with ethnic lines in the structure of Canadian power hierarchy. Porter brings evidence to show that the English speaking Canadians have formed the top of this hierarchy and the native people are at the bottom; other ethnic groups are seen to fit somewhere in between, with some mobility occurring in the middle ranges of this hierarchy. Now we may take this as generally descriptive of the Canadian class and ethnicity situation. However, it should not be taken as the intent of

multi-cultural policies in Canada which advocate equality. Between the fact and ideal of Canadian society, what is the position of the East Indian community?

This question can be viewed in two dimensions:

(1) Acceptance of the East Indians by the larger society, and

(2) The position and contributions of the East Indians in Canadian society.

We will examine the question of acceptability first. In the case of the East Indian community, we have already noted that there was wide-spread anti-East Indian feeling during the early period of their migration. But in more recent years, both the size of the community and the quality of immigrants of the East Indian origin have changed. Does this mean there has been some change in the attitudes or perceptions of the larger society towards the East Indians? Recent race relations studies on East Indians and other coloured immigrants shed some light on various dimensions of race relations in Canada, such as—perception of racial discrimination by the East Indians (Chandra 1973, Friedes 1973, Ubale 1977), racial discrimination in housing and employment (Ramacharan 1973), perception of employers of the Third World immigrants (Hameed 1980), attitudes of Edmontonians towards coloured immigrants (Caldarola and Paul 1979), and several others.

Paul (1979:22), after a brief review of some of these studies, concluded that "overt racial discrimination against East Indians and other Third World immigrants that existed during the pre-war period is less frequently advocated and relatively less visible. However, racial discrimination remains a serious problem,

and may become more serious as concentration of Third World immigrants in major Canadian cities increases." If this conclusion is to be accepted, it means that anti-East Indian feelings still persist though to a lesser extent and in a more subtle way. This fact could have implications for the question of the integration and life chances of the East Indians in the Canadian society on the one hand, and for the potential success of multi-cultural policies on the other. We shall elaborate on these later.

Turning to the second issue, it is difficult to deal with the questions of the socio-economic position and the contributions of the East Indians to the Canadian society, because very little separate data are available on the income or occupation of East Indians. Some data are available on Asian immigrants. On the basis of this, Paul (1977) makes some general comments on the East Indians' present position and contribution in Canada. In terms of occupations, we saw that most of the early East Indian immigrants worked on farms, railroads, or saw-mills in British Columbia. More recently, East Indians are found in almost every occupation.

From 1963 until about 1967, the Indian immigration to Canada was substantially managerial, professional and technical. However, from 1967 onwards, people in "other" occupational categories, such as skilled workers, also arrived in roughly equal proportions (Paul 1977:3). Their expertise matched the needs of the Canadian economy. During the 1970's, Canadian manpower needs shifted to more basic industries and service occupations, and the East Indian immigrants can now be seen working in these fields also. Very recently, a substantial number of persons of East Indian origin have come from African

countries, Fiji, and England with investment and business experience, adding a relatively new dimension to the Indian community and society at large. A rough estimate (Paul 1977;4) of numbers indicates that at least 250,000 people of Indian origins were contributing to the growth and development of Canadian institutions as of 1977.

An estimate of the income change of the East Indians, indicated by a three-year study of the Green Paper (1974) throws some light on the financial position of East Indians. It shows that the East Indians in their first year of migration were in low income scale (i.e. $5,372 for 1970), but over a period of three years, their income increased ($9,056 in 1972). So they could be placed just after U.S., British, Australian, French, and German immigrants to Canada, within a period of three years. From this we can conclude that the East Indian community is struggling hard and successfully to advance its position in the Canadian society. Some studies (Hameed 1980, Caldarola and Paul 1979) indicate that even among the members of the larger society there is some perception of the capabilities of the East Indians and their potential for mobility and success.

In conclusion, we may ask, what are the future possibilities for the East Indian community in Canada? The above discussion points to the conclusion that the members of the larger society appear to have somewhat ambivalent perceptions of the East Indians in Canada. On the one hand, they are viewed with racial bias and on the other hand, there exists some acknowledgement of their capabilities. In principle, either of these two perceptions has an equal chance of being confirmed, strengthened, crystallized in the society, and consequently of determining the life chances of the East Indian community.

But in view of the entirely new situational context of the ideals and policies of multi-culturalism, and given the basic characteristics of the East Indians, it seems more likely that they will find an equal place within the Canadian society. The whole effort and hope of multi-cultural policies is that acceptance of multi-culturalism may lead to gradual acceptance of relative equality for all ethnic groups as well as to awareness and respect for other cultures.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE EAST INDIAN WORKING WOMEN IN CANADA

The purpose of this chapter is to present a description of the basic socio-demographic characteristics of East Indian immigrant working women in the sample selected from the East Indian communities of Edmonton and Vancouver.

The earlier review of the relevant literature on East Indian communities has shown that there is almost nothing written on the East Indian women and their occupational integration into Canadian economy. Hence the material presented in this chapter is original and exploratory, with no comparison data except that drawn from some general literature on immigrant women in Canada.

In the last chapter we presented some information about the different migration patterns that the East Indians followed at different periods in their history of migration to Canada. These resulted in varying compositions of East Indian communities in different Canadian provinces. Some of these differences are found to be reflected in the Vancouver and Edmonton sub-samples in terms of their socio-demographic background, and levels of their educational achievements and occupational integration. These differences appear to be significant and, as we shall see, are found to be further highlighted in the next chapters.

AGE

The variable of age is very important in the case of the employment of married women because the societal norms governing the life role of married women presume that their primary role is to be wife-mother. This means that married women, on the whole, work at certain stages of their life cycles, and not at others. Hence, it becomes important to inquire into the age profile of the sample.

Ostry (1968) and Decore (1976) in their research on Canadian working women have shown that the general Canadian female work force participation, like that in America, exhibits a "two phase" or "twin peak" pattern. The first peak emerges in the early twenties and declines in the late twenties. The second peak emerges in the late forties and early fifties. This pattern is related to the family life cycle of women. The first high peak appears when a young woman is either not married or has no children. The work force participation drops with the coming of children and again rises when the children grow up and the woman reaches the "empty nest" stage. Therefore, an age profile of working women tells an important and broader story about their family roles and family structure.

Turning to the age distribution of the two samples of East Indian women, displayed in Table VI-1, we discover that the largest number of married working women fall within the age category of what can best be described as early middle years which are traditionally associated with child care and home making. The age category of 26-35 years accounts for 56 percent of East Indian women's workforce participation in Edmonton and 48 percent in Vancouver. The next largest

category is 36-45 years which contains 29 percent and 33 percent of women in the two communities respectively. The workforce participation of the age group of 46 or above then declines quite dramatically with only 3 percent in this age bracket in the Edmonton sample and 7 percent in the Vancouver sample).

This age pattern of East Indian working women in the sample then, appears to differ from the general pattern of native born Canadian women whose early middle years are typically devoted to raising the family and whose mature years are more often given to work outside the home. If we knew that two age distributions of E.I. women and other Canadian women are very similar, this would have indicated that a "two phase cycle" pattern has not emerged in the life cycle of an East Indian woman. Howevere, because we have not surveyed a cross section of E.I. women, we are not able to make a categorical statement, on the basis of our interview data, concerning the proportion of young mothers who are employed. Accordingly, these data provide no basis for reporting whether or not E.I. women reflect the two-phase work cycle pattern, chararcteristic of Anglo-Canadian women. However, on the basis of many discussions with a variety of observers and participants and familiarity with the culture, we have formed the impression that a two-phase work cycle pattern is significantly less common among E.I. women. The speculative reasons for this seem to be the following:

(1) With the exception of a few who were born in Vancouver, the sample consists of a generation of new immigrants who have come to Canada for "economic betterment". Initially, they have little money but want to "settle down in their own house as soon as possible" and

TABLE VI-I

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANT WORKING WOMEN IN THE SAMPLE DRAWN FROM EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
AGE				
1. 15-25	11	12.0	26	13.0
2. 26-35	51	56.0	93	48.0
3. 36-45	26	29.6	64	33.0
4. 46 or Above	3	3.0	13	6.0
Total	91	100.0	196	101.0*
No response	2		1	
EDUCATION				
1. Low Primary and High Median School	29	33.0	119	62.0
2. Bachelor's	29	33.0	44	23.0
3. High Post Graduate Training or Degree	31	35.0	30	16.0
Total	89	101.0	193	101.0*
No response	4		4	

*Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

TABLE VI-I (CONTINUED)

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	Total			
	F	%	F	%
SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND				
1. Upper	28	32.0	36	19.0
2. Middle	53	61.0	88	46.0
3. Lower	6	7.0	68	35.0
Total	87	100.0	192	100.0
No response	6		5	
RURAL/URBAN				
1. Rural	13	14.0	100	52.0
2. Semi-Urban	27	30.7	48	25.0
3. Urban	50	55.0	45	23.0
Total	91	99.0*	193	100.0
No response	2		4	
REGIONAL BACKGROUND				
1. North	50	60.0	154	81.0
2. South	9	11.0	3	2.0
3. East	7	8.0	2	1.0
4. West	12	14.0	30	16.0
5. Out of India	6	7.0	1	0.0
Total	84	100.0	190	100.0
No response	9		7	

*Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

want to acquire the same standards of living as their social network members. "At the advice of their friends or relatives" they buy a house as soon as they can afford it (the average period is about 3-1/2 years) and begin to make payments. Many women who said they would not have worked in India, start working to "help" pay the mortgage or to buy other major items. Another reason given for working which is relevant here is that many women have some relatives living with them, especially older women. This is particularly true of Vancouver. Hence, it is likely that they are able to work because they have help with child care.

(2) The almost negligible work force involvement of the older women discovered in our sample (although interview data does not permit us to make statements about the proportion of older working women), on the other hand, may be due to several reasons, which further research could clarify.

(a) It is likely that because of the recentness of large scale immigration in Edmonton (since 1951) and late family migration in Vancouver, the number of older women is very small in both communities. Our sample shows that there are only 3.3% of older women in Edmonton and 7% in Vancouver.

(b) Perhaps also, since the phenomenon of "middle class working women in white or blue collar occupations (except for teaching and medicine)", is a relatively new phenomenon in India, embracing only the younger generation, the role norms of an older woman still do not permit her to work. This role norm contains the image of a mother figure, living with and responsible for the domestic welfare of the younger members of her extended family. Often this image dominates

the role perception and the resulting life pattern of older immigrant women in Canada.

(c) It is the impression of the investigator, which could not be statistically confirmed because of the small number of cases, that the "empty nest syndrome", typical of North American nuclear families, does not often exist in East Indian communities in Edmonton or Vancouver. Most older women as will be shown later, still live with their children or younger relatives or have other joint family-like involvements.

Hence our impression is that the age profile of working East Indian women for this study differs from the general age profile of other Canadian women, probably due in part, to migration factors, and in part, perhaps to their family structure.

THE SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND

The social class distribution of our sample, determined by their father's occupational class according to D'Souza's occupational scale (1962), presented in Table VI-1, reveals that the largest group of working women in Edmonton and Vancouver, i.e. 70 percent and 46 percent respectively, come from a middle class background in India. But the percentage distribution of other classes was found to differ in the two communities. Only 19 percent of the women in Vancouver are from the upper classes, but the percentage in this category is much larger (32 percent) in Edmonton. This trend is reversed in the case

of distribution of women from lower class backgrounds. Thirty-five percent of the total Vancouver sample are from this class, whereas only 7 percent of the Edmonton sample are from this class.

These social class differences of distribution are significant in two ways. Firstly, they reflect the different social class compositions of the East Indians in the two communities, and to a large extent, despite some mobility (which will be discussed later) these social class differences are perpetuated at least in the first generation. Secondly, these differences are also found to be reflected in, and consistent with, other differences in the educational background, and, to some extent, in the occupational characteristics of the East Indian women in the two communities.

It is worth noting that no respondent belonged to D'Souza's seventh occupational class which consists of occupational categories like sweepers and railway porters. This is again, consistent with theories of middle class migration, since it is unlikely that people in such low occupational categories would acquire the requisite money or aspiration to migrate to another country in search for a better life.

Many women belonging to upper and middle classes came from what they call "good families" where, either they did not contemplate working, or considered some 'respectable feminine occupation" for themselves like "teaching", "office work", "medicine", or "social work". Their fathers are also in prestigious positions according to Indian standards, for example, in "government service", "business", "medicine", "university teaching", "engineering", "journalism", or "politics". When they come here, often they find such low prestige,

low paying occupations as sales work, garment industry work, packing house work, nurse's aid, fruit gathering, and kitchen work open to them.

Table VI-8 shows that 20 percent of East Indian women in Edmonton and 52.8 percent in Vancouver are in the two lowest occupational classes in their first jobs. (There is a slight upward change in their present or last job distribution which will be discussed later.) A comparison of their social class background in India and occupational class of their first job leads to the conclusion that a fair number of East Indian women, when they begin work, initially face a sense of downward mobility, status inconsistency and dissonance.* This conclusion is supported by the following sort of comments.

An Edmonton woman said, "It is not the pay, but the type of work which I find humiliating". Another said, "I and my friends are from good families. My brother is a professor. I am a trained teacher. But the only work I got was in G.W.G. and that is not a respectable job". One lawyer in Vancouver refused to let his wife be interviewed because, "She is a trained teacher, but is working as a junior clerk in an office and is sensitive about her low occupational status". The daughter of a medical doctor, herself an M.A., worked in the shoe section of a department store and admitted that she was ashamed of serving her acquaintances and friends. In the last example, a woman said, "My friends and I feel ashamed of talking about

* This sense of status inconsistency is to some extent tempered among the women as many of them find a compensation mechanism in their derivative status, based on the socio-economic status of their husbands. Hence, despite this dissatisfaction, the interviews revealed that they are not unhappy with their standard of living in Canada.

our work in a social gathering when we meet. Women of our background should not be doing this kind of job".

It should be noted that most of these remarks come from educated women in Edmonton. Clearly this sense of status inconsistency is compounded if the women are well educated and/or trained for a particular field. This as we saw, is normally the case with the upper or middle class women. Hence, to get a clearer picture of this process of status inconsistency we shall look at the educational attainment level as well as education-related aspirations and frustrations of these women.

EDUCATION

Table VI-1 also presents the educational distribution of our sample into low, medium and igh education categories. These categories represent high school level (low), graduate level or bachelor's degree (medium), and master's level or above (high). These categories were chosen because most of our sample women were educated in India where the above categories are standards of judging of educational attainment and colour the self image of these women.

Table VI-1 indicates that their percentage distribution is substantially unequal in the three educational categories of low, medium and high education in both Edmonton and Vancouver. Further analysis also revealed very significant differences between the two communities. The number of women in the high and medium educational categories in Edmonton is twice as large (two-thirds), as in the Vancouver sample (one-third), and is consistent with their higher

social class background. One possible reason for these educational, as well as previously observed social class differences between Edmonton and Vancouver, despite the present immigration policy, may in part, be found in the fact that the sponsorship categories account for a much larger proportion of low educated immigrants for Vancouver, than for Edmonton. There has been a relatively large initial migration of persons belonging to the lower educational category in Vancouver. When such immigrants sponsor their relatives, with background characteristics similar to their own, the same socio-economic status and educational level patterns are likely to be perpetuated. Such educational differences then lead to other kinds of differences in the context of economic integration of immigrants in Canada, especially in terms of (1) differential access to economic opportunities, and (2) differential attitudes towards mobility and success.

A large number of girls from upper and middle class urban backgrounds attend at least some college in India, whereas education of women is still uncommon among the rural population, although a few girls may go to junior or senior high schools. Thus, since relatively many get a bachelor's degree, it is not considered a great achievement leading to a good career. But higher degrees are considered important and carry great expectations for the future. Yet Indian women with higher degrees from India feel that for getting good positions, or admission for a higher degree in a Canadian university, Indian degrees do not count very much. A girl with a B.A. or a Master's from India, has to repeat the same degree before getting into the higher degree courses. Often unwilling to do that, many decide to take some vocational training. The alternative is to take some low occupational

level jobs. Discontent was occasionally voiced with this educational situation. A thoughful woman said, "There should be a better process of assessing the comparability of Indian degrees with Canadian degrees". Another said, "Though I had my teaching certificate from India and was teaching in the States, I had to do courses here to qualify as a teacher and that was not fair". Or, "Though I have my M.A. in Psychology, I had to do two 400 level (undergraduate) courses to get into the M.A. program here".

Now if we view this situation, coupled with the social class situation discussed earlier, it is obvious that upper and middle class, well educated women, who consider themselves belonging to "good families" suffer from a state of dissonance and sense of status inconsistency, as they obtain or can hope to get at best only low prestige occupational positions, or are awarded reduced educational status in applying to graduate schools.

While 33 percent of women in Edmonton have a low level of education, the percentage of those who, in their first job, were in the three lowest occupational classes where jobs require little or no education, is much higher, i.e. 53 percent. This means that at least 16 percent of the women with higher education are working in low level jobs. In Vancouver the two distributions show similar trends. Sixty-two percent of the women are found in the low educational category, whereas the three lowest occupational classes account for 80 percent. Hence, looking at the social class, education and occupational class distributions in a comparative framework, it is inevitable that the upper class educated women will experience at least an initial sense of status inconsistency.

RURAL/URBAN AND REGIONAL BACKGROUND

Table VI-1 indicates that there is greater representation of East Indian working immigrant women in Edmonton from urban areas, i.e. 55 percent and semi-urban areas, i.e. 31 percent, than from rural areas which constitute only 14 percent of the sample. In Vancouver however, this proportion is reversed. Fifty-two percent of the immigrant women in Vancouver are from rural areas as against 23 percent who are from urban areas while 25 percent are from semi-urban areas. These differences again can be interpreted as partly related to two factors: (1) sponsorship categories and (2) network chains. This also, in part, explains the educational and social class differences discovered in the samples of the two communities presented in the preceding sections.

As far as regional representation is concerned in both communities, North Indian immigrant women far exceed immigrant women from other regions of India (with 60% North Indian women in Edmonton and 81% in Vancouver). The remaining percentage covers the southern, eastern and western regions. This again could be viewed as, in part, a function of social networks and chain migration factors. This trend appears to be consistent with Anderson's (1974) findings and interpretation regarding Portugese immigrants, which show that there is overwhelming representation of Portuguese immigrants in Toronto from some regions of Portugal and almost negligible representation from others. She suggests that this could be due to the presence of certain networks from certain regions.

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

The purpose of this section is to present a profile of E.I. women's family characteristics which, it will be shown, are crucially important for their workforce participation, work motivation, aspirations and mobility in a way that is not relevant for the work life of a man. Many studies (Myrdal and Klien 1956, Pinder 1969, Altman 1964, Cain 1966, Epstein 1970, Fogarty 1971, Gold 1969, Horner 1970, Kieren 1970, Kundsin 1970) have shown that this is the case.

For this study, we have chosen to talk about (1) husband's characteristics and (2) family size and fmily structure of E.I. women for the following reasons:

(1) Husband's socio-economic position, which means his economic status, his educational level and his attitudes, to some extent, sets the stage for the wife's employment. In our sample, these are found to be related to E.I. women's employment.

(2) The possibility of an E.I. woman's employment largely depends upon the presence of her children at home and her perception of the mother's role versus paid workers' role. Often these perceptions determine whether a woman will work or not. Added to this factor is another important dimension in the case of E.I. women, viz. joint family-like structure which is not uncommon among East Indians in Canada and which uniquely affects E.I. women's work force involvement.

HUSBAND'S CHARACTERISTICS

Husband's Education

Table VI-2 presents the level of educational attainment of the husbands of our sample women. It shows that about 60 percent of the Edmonton sample women's husbands were in the higher education categories, i.e. having taken a graduate degree or some technical training beyond the bachelor's degree. Only half of this percentage, i.e 30 percent of the husbands of Vancouver women were found in these two categories. In Vancouver, the largest percentage of husbands, i.e. 33 percent were found in Category 3, i.e. having completed high school, followed by another 16 percent in Category 5, i.e. those who have done their B.A. This analysis, shows that the majority of husbands of Edmonton sample women are in a higher education category, which is in agreement with some earlier studies (Pannu 1967, Paul 1973) which show that a proportion number of professionals came to Alberta in the 1960's. It also shows that there are marked and significant differences between the level of educational attainment of the husbands of women of our two samples.

TABLE VI-2

THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HUSBANDS OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
HUSBAND'S EDUCATION				
1. Low-Primary and High School	15	17.0	88	46.0
2. Medium - Up to Bachelor's Degree	19	22.0	50	24.0
3. High-Post Graduate Training or Degree	56	62.0	58	30.0
Total	90	101.0*	196	100.0
No response	3		1	
HUSBAND'S PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL CLASS				
1. One	14	28.0	10	6.0
2. Two	19	38.0	15	9.0
3. Three	6	12.0	24	15.0
4. Four	4	8.0	29	19.0
5. Five	5	10.0	29	18.0
6. Six	2	4.0	35	22.0
7. Seven	0	0.0	18	11.0
Total	50	100.0	159	100.0
No response	43		41	

*Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

TABLE VI-2 (CONTINUED)

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
HUSBAND'S ANNUAL INCOME				
1. Less Than $5,000	2	2.0	6	3.0
2. $ 5,001 - $11,000	18	20.0	24	13.0
3. $11,001 - $16,000	27	31.0	92	48.0
4. $16,001 - $22,000	22	25.0	48	26.0
5. $23,000 or More	19	22.0	18	10.0
Total	88	100.0	188	100.0
No response	5		9	
HUSBAND'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS WIFE'S WORKING				
1. Strongly Approves	16	19.0	31	15.0
2. Approves	41	47.0	125	65.0
3. Indifferent	15	18.0	25	13.0
4. Disapproves	13	15.0	11	6.0
5. Strongly Disapproves	1	1.0	1	1.0
Total	86	100.0	193	100.0
No response	7		4	

Husband's Present Occupational Class

Table VI-2 shows that majority of Edmonton sample women's husbands are found in occupational classes 1 and 2 (28 percent and 30 percent respectively) and the second largest number are in class 3 (12 percent). The majority of the husbands of Vancouver sample women belong to occupational classes 4 and 6 (19 percent and 22 percent respectively). The next largest number of Vancouver men are found in classes 3 and 5 (15 percent and 18 percent respectively). It should be noted that (a) on the whole men are found in relatively higher occupational classes than their wives, as is apparent from Table VI-1, and (b) Edmonton men are in relatively higher occupational classes as compared to Vancouver men.

Husband's Present Annual Income

The income categories that were examined in this research, ranged from less than $5,000 to $23,000 or more. As shown in Table VI-2, the largest numbers of the husbands of Edmonton sample women were found in income Category 5 ($14,000 to $16,999) and in Category 8 ($23,000 or more). The percentages in the lower income categories were found to be relatively small. In the case of Vancouver the largest numbers of husbands were found in income Categories 4 ($11,000 to $13,999) and 5 ($14,000 to $16,999). Moreover, the table shows that about one-fifth of men in Edmonton are in the highest income category, as against about one-tenth of the Vancouver men.* These

* While the comparison is not undertaken here, it would be very significant to compare the income bracket of East Indian men and women for assessing the sex differential in their income levels.

figures reveal the higher economic position of men from Edmonton, highlighting the differences in the income level of the husbands of these women in the two communities. This points to the same possible differences in social class composition in the two communities as were suggested by the occupational class analysis in the earlier discussion.

The conclusion about the husband's characteristics of the East Indian women in Edmonton and Vancouver can be stated thus. The husbands of the Edmonton women, on the whole, are more educated, are in better occupational classes and have higher income levels than the husbands of women of the Vancouver sample. This is quite consistent with similar differences in characteristics between women (wives) in the two communities.

Our next question is, how are these characteristics related to work motivation and work pattern of our sample women? The data in Table VI-2 show that a larger percentage of men in Vancouver than in Edmonton are in low prestige occupations and low income bracket. Table VI-5 shows that more women (61 percent) in Vancouver than in Edmonton (46 percent) work for money, but are less committed to employment. It could mean that the occupational class level and income level of the husbands is not only correlated with wife's work motivation, but also with work commitment. Moreover, the number of women who work with their husband's approval is larger for Vancouver (81 percent) than for Edmonton (66 percent). Also we note that a larger proportion of Edmonton sample women (16 percent) than Vancouver sample women (6 percent) work, despite their husbands' express disapproval of their being in paid employment.

This difference of attitudes in the two communities could itself be viewed in terms of the occupational and income differential between the men of the two communities. It means that as most men in Vancouver are in lower income categories, and as the majority of women admittedly work for money, it is likely that most men, even if they are traditionally inclined, do not disapprove of their wives being in paid employment because of financial necessity. On the other hand, as East Indian men in Edmonton are in relatively high income brackets and higher occupational classes, and as a larger percentage of Edmonton women work for reasons other than financial necessity, it is likely that relatively more men are in, at least a financial position to want their wives to stay at home rather than in a paid job, and therefore might show disapproval of their working.

FAMILY POWER

In regard to the question of decision-making power within the family, the data presented in Table VI-3, show that most of the answers given to the question—"Who decides the important family matters like money, children's future and jobs?"—might be described as "socially desirable" answers viz., that the "decisions are taken jointly", given by 67 percent and 72 percent Edmonton and Vancouver sample women respectively. Less than a quarter admitted that it was mainly the husband's decision; about 10 percent said that husband alone made such decisions.

In response to the question about enhancement of the wife's decision-making power due to the wife's earning status, only about 25 percent of the total sample, as shown in Table VI-3, acknowledged such enhancement. Over 75 percent of women in both the communities said they felt that their earning status had probably made no difference to their power in the family. Scanzoni (1970, 1972, 1976) states that for North American women, there is a definite increase in the power of the wife who brings in money as compared with the one who does not. Most East Indian women do not admit to a similar increase in power for this particular reason. But many of them added something very interesting and typical. "My husband listened to my views even before I took up the job and he listens to me even now." Hence they did not feel that they had less power before or that they have more now. It shows that in these East Indian sample households whatever else may be the source of power for the wife, i.e it may be her education, her high social class background, her personality, her abilities, it is, by and large, not the money she earns, according to the interview responses. Family power then, is not reported to be associated with the earning power of the wife.

This finding seems generally consistent with the East Indian culture which does not place highest value on material achievement. In a study of East Indian women in Toronto, Naidoo (1980:19) discovered that East Indian women do not prize material possessions above everything else. This may seem in contradiction with the fact that the immigrants generally come to Canada for economic achievement, yet do not appear to prize it as the highest value. Further research can throw more light on this issue if, e.g. it is conducted under the

TABLE VI-3

FAMILY POWER OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN FROM EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
FAMILY POWER IN DECISION MAKING				
1. Husband Decides Alone	7	8.0	21	11.0
2. Joint Decision	58	67.0	140	72.0
3. Mainly Husband Decides	17	19.0	31	16.0
4. Mainly Wife Decides	5	6.0	3	1.0
Total	87	100.0	195	100.0
No response	6		2	
INCREASE IN WIFE'S POWER DUE TO HER EARNING STATUS				
1. Very Much	9	11.0	17	9.0
2. A Little	12	14.0	36	19.0
3. Uncertain	8	9.0	28	15.0
4. Probably No	38	45.0	68	35.0
5. Certainly No	18	21.0	42	22.0
Total	85	100.0	191	100.0
No response	8		2	

hypotheses that either (1) what the East Indians want is only "relative" improvement for economic status and not money and status per se, or (2) that there are many important differences of attitude between East Indian men and East Indian women. Men may prize economic success highest, whereas women prize other things, as Naidoo shows, like family or friendship or self-development.

CHILD RELATED CHARACTERISTICS AND JOINT FAMILY

Family Size

Boyd (1977), in her research findings concerning Canadian immigrant women reports immigrant women are found to have smaller families than Canadian born women. The findings of the present research, presented in Table VI-4, confirm this conclusion. A large percentage of East Indian working women were found to have smaller families, i.e., more than 55% in Vancouver and more than 75% in Edmonton of the sample women have two children or less. Only about 5% of sample women were found to have large families, i.e. five children or more. It is possible that the differential is partly due to age differences between these two groups. However, as far as the relationship between the ages of the youngest child and work force participation of the mother is concerned, Table VI-4 shows that maximum participation (33%) is found among the mothers whose youngest child's age ranges between 4 and 9 years. In the second largest category are those mothers (32%) whose youngest child's age ranges between 10 and

TABLE VI-4

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
FAMILY SIZE				
1. No Children	22	24.0	20	10.0
2. 1 Child	23	26.0	38	20.0
3. 2 Children	25	27.0	56	29.0
4. 3 Children	12	13.0	44	23.0
5. 4 Children	5	6.0	26	13.0
6. 5 or More Children	4	4.0	11	5.0
Total	91	100.0	195	100.0
No response	2		2	
AGE OF YOUNGEST CHILD				
1. Up to 3 Years	12	25.0	31	22.0
2. 4-9 Years	16	33.0	59	42.0
3. 10-15 Years	16	32.0	33	24.7
4. 16 or Older	5	10.0	16	12.0
Total	49	100.0	139	100.0
No response	44		58	
JOINT FAMILY-LIKE SITUATION IN CANADA (Number of Relatives Living in and Helping)				
1. None	39	48.0	104	54.0
2. 1-5	38	47.0	84	44.0
3. 6 or More	4	5.0	4	2.0
Total	81	100.0	192	100.0
No response	12		5	

TABLE VI-4 (CONTINUED)

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
PERCEPTION OF LIVING IN JOINT FAMILY IN OLD AGE ("Empty Nest" Stage)				
1. Live Alone with Husband	44	58.0	101	58.0
2. Live also with Relatives	32	42.0	72	42.0
Total	76	100.0	173	100.0
No response	17		27	
ATTITUDE TOWARDS JOINT FAMILY LIKE LIVING IN CANADA				
1. Approve	49	59.0	111	58.0
2. Disapprove	34	40.0	81	42.0
3. Don't know	1	1.0	0	0.0
Total	84	100.0	192	100.0
No response	9		5	

15 years. About one-fourth of the working mothers have their youngest child between 1 - 3 years old. The number of those working mothers who have only grown up children, i.e. 16 years or over, is relatively very small, i.e. 10% in the Edmonton sample and 12% in the Vancouver sample. This difference may be due, at least in part to a more traditional orientation on the part of the mothers with older children, or it may be due to their disproportion in the population.

From these findings two things can be concluded:

(1) It appears from Table VI-4 data, that although for these women and for their other female friends, the role of the mother is very important, as 70% of the sample women in Edmonton and 68% in Vancouver said that they would not work with very small children, yet they also attach a great deal of importance to the work-role of an immigrant woman. This is evident from comparing the attitudes of their female networks in India and in Canada. About 67% of the sample women in Edmonton and 69% in Vancouver admitted that in India, the paramount female role among their female circles was considered to be the wife-mother. But 85% of these women in Edmonton and 77% in Vancouver stated that in the Canadian context, women in their social networks believe that the roles of wife-mother and paid worker are equally important for a woman and must both be accommodated in her life. This indicates a significant change in the attitudes of women following migration, and could be attributed to any number of speculative factors (which could further be tested by an attitude study of E.I. women), such as the liberalizing influence of migration, economic necessity, loneliness, awareness of women's rights, and finally, the

normative influence of other successful working East Indian women who may become the role models for the newcomers.

(2) The above findings further strengthen the impression recorded earlier (in the "Age" sub-section) that a "two phase" work pattern has probably not yet emerged in the life cycle of an East Indian woman in Canada. Though, as noted earlier, there is no comparative statistical data to draw a definitive conclusion, or interview data suggest that older E.I. women do not take up paid employment because they have not seriously faced the "empty nest syndrome", either as a stage in their life-cycle, or as a certain psychological state of mind. This point takes us into the question of their family structure.

Family Structure

Table VI-4 shows that close to 50% of the sample women live in a joint family-like situation, in both the communities. Moreover, about 60% of these women, in both communities, approve of joint family-like arrangements. Of these, 43% suggest certain appropriate modifications in the structure of joint family for living in Canada. To quote some suggestions, "Single persons (men or women of any age) should live with or have relatives living with them. They should not live alone", or "The families of brothers could live in separate homes, but maintain all rights and obligations of a joint family, including financial obligations", or "Even if family members do not live together, the father or the eldest brother are always to be

considered the head of the family and must be consulted on all important matters".

In Edmonton 52% and in Vancouver 47% of the sample women stated that they have relatives living with them and helping them with household chores, with children, and "it is a great emotional sustenance for us". In many cases, these relatives are older women who find emotional fulfillment and also respect and dignity in looking after the younger members of their families and hence are not forced to seek an outlet in paid employment, out of the feeling that they are no longer needed by their families.

But now certain changes seem to be occurring in the perception and awareness of some East Indian women in Canada regarding the future of the traditional joint family. As shown in Table VI-4, in response to the question whether these women "visualize themselves living with other relatives in their old age, or alone with their husbands", about 42% stated confidently that they will always live in large families, but close to 58%, in both communities, said they visualize themselves living alone with their husbands. Yet in the in-depth interviews, a number of them indicated that if their married sons want, they would prefer to live with them. One young woman expressed a specific concern about the "empty nest" stage which could be taken as representing the dawning of the awareness of new possibilities. "I better get some qualifications; when my children grow up what will I do?" She has two children under 12 and her brother and sister are living with her.

Moreover, the data in Table VI-4, show that about 40% of the women in both the communities prefer a nuclear family situation for

living in Canada and cherish the ideals of liberated womanhood. It is important to indicate that such women appear to be acquiring the same kinds of hopes and fears as other liberated women. They want their husbands to share the housework, be seen as people in their own right, and one woman commented that she would teach her daughter that she is at least equal, if not superior, to men.

Many feminist writers assert that sex-role ideology, viz. the beliefs about the place and role of women in relation to their husbands, family and children, is deeply rooted in women as a result of childhood and adolescent socialization. This ideology, to a very large extent, determines the behaviour, attitudes and perceptions of women in all societies. In the Indian society, a woman traditionally is expected to be gentle and submissive, taking all the responsibility of larger family with cheer and devotion. Thus, she is expected to find fulfillment and satisfaction in her devotion to her larger family and her children. Though the attitudes and perceptions of these women can be studied in many dimensions, specific questions were asked, in the present research, concerning their perception of sexual equality, family structure, and importance of work role vs. mother's role. The answers given, as discussed above, do not fall into neat categories, but appear to show important differences among the sample women in terms of their attitude variations. In view of these differences, the sample women can be seen as falling into 3 categories: 1) traditional; 2) transitional; and 3) modern.

Purely in terms of family then, those women who believe in maintaining wife-mother role as primary role and also the joint family system, are considered to be traditional women. The transitional

group, though still believing in traditional values of womanhood and family structure shows awareness of modern values which require modifications in the husband-wife relationship and family structure, adapting it to their new life situation. For example, one woman said "I believe in serving and obeying my husband, but he should not expect it of me. He should treat me as his equal." Another said "I live with my mother-in-law and brother-in-laws. They need our support. But I will not live with my married children. They must have their independent lives." A thoughtful woman said "I believe marriage is sacred and forever. But if my husband is unfaithful to me, I don't know what will I do." It is interesting to point out that gentle probing did not seem to show them that they were holding contradictory attitudes. They can be viewed as in a stage of transition from old values to new values, perhaps without consciously realizing it. Modern women, from Indian standards, are those who would adopt North American values of nuclear family, sexual equality and liberated womanhood. Evidence exists in this research that all three types of women are found among the East Indian women. But these findings only skim the surface of the attitudes, perceptions and self-perceptions of East Indian women within their family context. This points to the need for a detailed socio-psychological study of East Indian women of the kind done in Toronto by Naidoo (1980).

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

This section is concerned with the occupational characteristics of the East Indian immigrant women in Canada. The data to be considered are discussed in the following headings:

1. Motivation or reasons for work
2. Occupational category and occupational class
3. Sources of job information and recommendations
4. Occupational mobility or immobility
5. Attitudes and perception concerning work and success in Canada

Motivation

The literature on women and work suggests that the primary motivation for women to work is economic. As an example, Klien (1965:36) says:

> "Money is undoubtedly the largest incentive for married women to go to work. Three out of every four women interviewed gave this as the main reason for having paid jobs. It is however, by no means the only incentive.....".

In the case of East Indian women, as indicated in Table VI-5, quite a large percentage, i.e. 46 percent of Edmonton and 61 percent of Vancouver sample women admitted working mainly for this reason. Many of them (30 percent and 27 percent respectively) said that they would not work if their husbands were to earn more. This, then is the group which works solely for money, and their work frustrations are also related to money and secondarily to unpleasant working conditions. The Vancouver women are also less educated, more often have lower social class backgrounds and have less well-educated husbands, than women in Edmonton.

TABLE VI-5

REASONS FOR WORK FOR THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
REASONS FOR WORKING				
1. Money	41	46.0	118	61.0
2. Loneliness/Boredom	22	24.0	44	22.0
3. Use Training/Career Building	26	29.0	25	13.0
4. Other	1	1.0	7	4.0
Total	90	100.0	195	100.0
No response	3	..	2	

In addition, three other reasons for work were discovered, viz., career building, utilizing their training, and sense of social isolation. A sizeable minority, i.e. 29 percent in Edmonton and 13 percent in Vancouver, said that they work for the express purpose of utilizing their training and/or to build a career. These women then are likely to continue to work even if their financial and social situation changes, and can be viewed as committed to their work.

There is the third group of women including 24 percent in Edmonton and 22 percent in Vancouver, who say they mainly work to combat the feelings of loneliness. Many women who come from joint families in India, where they live with people of all ages and both sexes all the time, feel lonely and bored in the nuclear family-like situation in Canada. They take up paid work as a social outlet "to fill their lonely days" (especially those who do not yet have children or have school going children). Yet, it should be noted that these reasons are not always clear cut, but mixed. Often women start with one motive and may develop others. Not all women who said they worked for money would give up work if their husband earned more. Around 30 percent in both communities stated that they would still work if their husbands earned enough or if other circumstances changed.

It is worth noting that a significantly larger number of Edmonton sample women work because they are lonely than women from Vancouver. This may reflect the differences between the two communities in terms of more readily available social and kin networks providing more social outlets to Vancouver women as compared to Edmonton sample women.

The conclusion then is that the majority of East Indian women work for economic reasons and to relieve loneliness and boredom. Thus the pattern of their work motivation is similar to most other Canadian women. But the important thing is that not all do so for these reasons, which would carry the implication that once circumstances change, these women will stop work. A minority is interested in working per se, to build a career, or contribute to their society.

Occupational Category and Occupational Class

Once the East Indian women's motives for work were determined, the next questions posed were—what types of occupations and occupational classes do they enter, or in Porter's (1965) terms, what is their "entrance status" in terms of their occupational category and occupational class? Further questions concerned their "present" occupational category and class. Looking at their occupational category, i.e. the types of occupation and occupational class distribution (which are found in Tables VI-6, VI-7, and VI-8) in their (1) first job, (2) their last job, and their occupational class distribution, in their (3) lowest status job, and (4) highest status job, the following picture emerges.

Tables VI-6 and VI-7 present the occupational category distribution for the first and the last/present job of the East Indian women. In the first job the occupational categories are very unevenly distributed. The largest percentage of East Indian women is found in two types of occupations. The largest number are in three essentially unskilled or semi-skilled manual occupations. Eighteen percent of

TABLE VI-6

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF THE FIRST JOB OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
1. Professionals, Health and Social Welfare				
a. Physicians	1	1.0	2	1.0
b. Nursing	9	10.0	16	8.0
c. Health and Social Workers	5	6.0	7	4.0
2. Teachers				
a. Professors	1	1.0	0	0.0
b. School Teachers	8	9.0	10	5.0
c. Librarians	1	1.0	1	1.0
3. Clerical Workers	21	23.0	19	10.0
4. Communications	1	1.0	0	0.0
5. Sales Work	8	9.0	4	2.0
6. Technical/Manual	4	5.0	7	4.0
7. Garment Industry and Related Trades	16	18.0	28	14.0
8. Service Occupations like Kitchen Help, Janitor, Babysitting, and Labour Occupations	13	14.0	95	48.0
9. Other	1	1.0	4	2.0
Total	89	99.0*	193	99.0*
No response	4		4	

*Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

TABLE VI-7

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF THE LAST/PRESENT JOB OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
1. Health Professionals				
a. Physicians	2	4.0	1	1.0
b. Nurses	4	8.0	9	8.0
c. Health and Welfare Workers	4	8.0	6	5.0
2. Teachers				
a. Professors	1	2.0	0	0.0
b. School Teachers	5	10.0	6	5.0
c. Librarians	1	2.0	0	0.0
3. Clerical Workers	13	26.0	11	10.0
4. Communications	1	2.0	0	0.0
5. Sales	3	6.0	2	2.0
6. Technical/Manual	5	10.0	5	5.0
7. Garment Industry and Related Trades	7	14.0	17	15.0
8. Service Occupations like Kitchen Help, Babysitter, Janitor	5	10.0	53	46.0
9. Other	0	0.0	5	4.0
Total	51**	101.0*	115**	101.0*
No response	42		85	

*Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding

** The drop in the number of women in the "last/present job" category is due to the fact that a number of women have held only one job, which is their first job.

Edmonton sample women and 14.3 percent of Vancouver sample women are in the clothing industry and such occupations as packing, canning, laundry, etc. Fourteen percent of Edmonton and 49 percent of Vancouver sample women are in service and labour occupations such as kitchen help, housekeeping, janitorial service, etc. The second largest number is in the category of clerical and technical manual occupations, i.e. 23 percent in Edmonton as opposed to 10 percent in Vancouver. The third largest category is that of nursing which accounts for 10 percent and 8 percent for Edmonton and Vancouver respectively.

From these data two points immediately emerge:

1. More than 90 percent of these women, in both communities, are in sex specific occupations. This finding is consistent with other recent research studies of immigrant women's occupational distribution. Boyd's (1977:234) analysis of Canadian immigrant women, and Horna's (1976:137 ff) study of Czechoslovak women in Alberta are based on a comparison of occupational statuses of male and female immigrants upon entry. They conclude that, as compared to immigrant men, the immigrant women are more frequently in sex-specific occupations.

2. The other point which directly follows from the first is that most of these occupations, which are sex-specific, are also low prestige and often less remunerative occupations; falling in the sixth or seventh, or at best, fourth occupational prestige class. Therefore, women in sex-specific occupations are also in relatively low prestige occupations. Table VI-8 shows the occupational class percentage distribution of the two sub-samples in the two communities

TABLE VI-8

THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF THE FIRST AND LAST JOB OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
FIRST JOB OCCUPATIONAL CLASS				
1. Class I	2	2.0	3	2.0
2. Class II	3	4.0	4	2.0
3. Class III	13	14.0	15	8.0
4. Class IV	25	28.0	30	16.0
5. Class V	10	11.0	6	3.0
6. Class VI	19	21.0	34	18.0
7. Class VII	15	17.0	100	50.0
8. Could not be determined	3	3.0	3	2.0
Total	90	100.0	195	101.0 *
No response	3		2	
LAST JOB OCCUPATIONAL CLASS				
1. Class I	1	2.0	2	2.0
2. Class II	4	8.0	5	4.0
3. Class III	7	14.0	7	6.0
4. Class IV	19	38.0	18	16.0
5. Class V	5	10.0	2	2.0
6. Class VI	7	14.0	24	21.0
7. Class VII	5	10.0	57	49.0
8. Could not be determined	2	4.0	1	1.0
Total	50**	100.0	116**	101.0*
No response	43		84	

*Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

**The difference in the number of women inthe first and present/last job occupational class is due to the fact that 40 women in Edmonton and 79 women in Vancouver held only one job.

and also shows their occupational position in terms of their "entry status", i.e. in their first job. From Table VI-8 it is evident that, in their first job, 38 percent of Edmonton women and 69 percent of the women in Vancouver, are found in the two lowest occupational classes. The next largest number, i.e. 28 percent of Edmonton sample women and 25 percent of Vancouver sample women are found in the fourth occupational class which, at best, has middle level occupational prestige.

Although the trend that the majority of women are in low paid and low prestige occupations is common to both the communities, there are some differences which appear to reflect the differences in their other demographic characteristics. There are about twice as many women in the sixth and seventh occupational classes in the Vancouver sample as there are in Edmonton. This means that more Edmonton women are in a relatively higher class of occupations than Vancouver women which appears consistent with their social and educational background.

It is worth noting that the sociological literature on women's employment shows that women "in general" are found in low paid occupations (e.g. Marchak 1973:202, Treiman and Terrels 1954, Ch. 7, Oppenheimer 1970, Horna 1976, Royal Commission Report on the Status of Women 1970). Even where women are in managerial positions, it is in such concerns as women's clothing shops or beauty salons. Thus, in general, labour force participation is quite sex-segregated.

It follows then that the occupational positions of East Indian women in low paying occupations are similar to the positions of other Canadian immigrant and native born women.

TABLE VI-9

THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND RECOMMENDATION USED FOR THE FIRST, LAST, HIGHEST STATUS AND LOWEST STATUS JOBS OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
FIRST JOB				
1. Personal*	44	51.0	100	52.0
2. Impersonal**	29	33.0	44	22.0
3. Direct Application	12	14.0	43	22.0
4. Other	2	2.0	7	4.0
Total	87	100.0	194	100.0
No response	6		3	
LAST JOB				
1. Personal	11	22.0	42	40.0
2. Impersonal	20	39.0	27	25.0
3. Direct Application	15	29.0	35	33.0
4. Other	5	10.0	2	2.0
Total	51***	100.0	107***	100.0
No response	42		93	

*Personal sources include friends, relatives, colleagues, employer and acquaintances.

**Impersonal sources include agency, manpower and newspaper advertisements. The largest number found jobs through ads.

***The drop in the number of women in the "last/present job" category is due to the fact that a number of women have held only one job.

TABLE VI-9 (CONTINUED)

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
HIGHEST STATUS JOB				
1. Personal	12	34.0	22	44.0
2. Impersonal	9	26.0	12	25.0
3. Direct Application	13	37.0	15	29.0
4. Other	1	3.0	1	2.0
Total	35	100.0	51	100.0
No response	58		149	
LOWEST STATUS JOB				
1. Personal	15	36.0	23	43.0
2. Impersonal	14	33.0	13	24.0
3. Direct Application	12	29.0	16	30.0
4. Other	1	2.0	2	3.0
Total	42	100.0	54	100.0
No response	51		146	

Sources of Job Information/Recommendation

In connection with this study of the occupational adjustment of the East Indian women in Canada, it is relevant to inquire into their "sources" of occupational information leading to actual job placement. The data was collected on three broad sources: (1) personal sources of information and recommendation, (2) impersonal sources of information, and (3) direct application.

In terms of the sources of information actually leading to their first job, it was found, as shown in Table VI-9, that about half of our sample women found jobs through personal sources in both communities. These included relatives, friends, acquaintances, colleagues and employers. The rest found their first job either through impersonal sources (33 percent in Edmonton and 22 percent in Vancouver) which included manpower, other agencies, or newspaper advertisements, or through direct application (14 percent and 22 percent respectively in both communities). This Table then supports the conclusion that personal contact is the single most popular source used for job search actually leading to placement in the case of the first job.

The data on the sources of last job, highest status job and lowest status job of those who have held more than one job, indicate differences between the Edmonton and Vancouver sub-samples. Table VI-9 shows that in Vancouver the largest percentage of women get all their jobs through personal sources, i.e. 40 percent get their last job, 43 percent get their highest status job and 44 percent get their lowest status jobs through their personal contact. Though the per-

centages of women getting these jobs through personal sources is smaller than the percentage of women who get their first job through this source, yet it is the largest as compared to the other two sources. In Edmonton, however, personal sources led to the placement of largest percentage of women only in the case of lowest status job (36 pecent); whereas the largest percentage of women (39 percent) find their last job through impersonal sources, and the largest percentage of women (37 percent) find their highest status job through direct application.

It follows from these data that the sources of information leading to actual job placement, appear to be different in the two communities. In Vancouver the most widely used source for all jobs is personal contact. In Edmonton the sources differ according to the first and lowest or last and highest status job. For the initial occupational placement, personal contact is the most common and significant source, whereas for other jobs, other kinds of sources become important too. The main reasons for these differences could probably again be found in the fact that in Vancouver, which contains a large, long-established East Indian settlement, personal assistance for all types of jobs would more likely be available than in the recent immigrant settlement in Edmonton. In Edmonton women are more likely to seek and find help in their initial occupational search within their personal contacts, and in time, learn to use other channels in search of subsequent jobs.

Occupational Mobility or Immobility

Our data revealed that many of the sample women have been working over a number of years, up to 8 or more, or have held several jobs including 60 percent who have held at least two or more jobs. Hence, the question of their occupational mobility becomes pertinent. Table VI-10 gives some indication of the promotion possibility of their first job. About 46 percent of women in Edmonton and 49 percent in Vancouver are found in "dead end" jobs as their first job; so in their case the question of any immediate mobility does not arise unless they decide to upgrade themselves. We further note that even among those who are not in "dead end" but "stepping stone"* jobs, not all achieved mobility. Table VI-10 presents the mobility pattern of East Indian women as measured by the difference of their occupational rank between their first and present jobs. The data show that the number of those who maintained uniform occupational status, that is, were in the "no mobility" category despite job changes, is larger (49 percent for Edmonton and 61 percent for Vancouver) than the number of those in dead end jobs. A sizeable minority of the two samples showed upward mobility, i.e. 40 percent for Edmonton and 27 percent for Vancouver. The remaining women were in the "downward mobility" category. This table then shows that most women in the sample had not experienced any occupational mobility, though some definitely have.**

* The procedure used to determine "dead end" jobs versus "stepping stone" jobs is given in Methodology chapter.

** Part of the reason could be short duration of their work period, as that duration, on the average, is 5 years; part of the reason could be found in structural barriers on the one hand and attitudinal ones on the other.

TABLE VI-10

MOBILITY POSSIBILITY AND MOBILITY PATTERN OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
PROMOTION POSSIBILITY - FIRST JOB (Ladder or Dead End Job)				
1. Ladder	43	53.0	82	51.0
2. Dead End	38	46.0	79	49.0
3. Other (e.g., Self-Employed)	1	1.0	0	0.0
Total	82	100.0	161	100.0
No response	11		36	
MOBILITY PATTERN				
1. Upward Mobility	19	30.0	34	26.0
2. Downward Mobility	5	8.0	11	8.0
3. No Mobility	31	49.0	82	62.0
4. Upward Curvilinear *	6	10.0	2	1.0
5. Downward Curvilinear **	2	3.0	4	3.0
Total	63	100.0	133	100.0
No response	30		64	
UPGRADING TRAINING				
1. No	49	56.0	123	63.0
2. Yes	39	43.0	71	37.0
3. Thinking about it	1	1.0	0	0.0
Total	89	100.0	194	100.0
No response	4		3	

*Upward cirvilinear mobility refers to that job pattern where a woman first got a higher status job, then moved into a lower status job and again got higher status job.

**Downward curvilinear mobility refers to the job pattern where a woman got a low status job, moved into a higher status job and then moved down to a lower status job.

Their job status was determined by ranking all jobs according to Blishen's occupational prestige scale.

In order to assess the mobility of East Indian women in terms of their occupational class breakdown in the two communities, the changes in the occupational class of those whose first job was a stepping stone job were examined. Considering only the change from their first occupational class to their last/present occupational class, the findings are as follows.

First we note in Table VI-8, that a large percentage of women started at the bottom of the scale, especially in Vancouver where 69 percent as compared with 38 percent of Edmonton women, were in the two lowest occupational classes. Looking at mobility from the lower occupational prestige class in their first job, to the higher occupational prestige class in their last job, the disparity in the two communities is quite marked. Whereas, the number of women in the Edmonton sample, who were in the two lowest occupational classes, was 24 percent lower in their last as compared with their first jobs, there was no change in the Vancouver sample. Vancouver data shows no mobility in the two lowest occupational classes. In the higher occupational prestige classes, while there is again no evidence of mobility in the Vancouver sample, the number of class 4 positions increased by 10 percent in Edmonton.

From these data we conclude that there is some evidence of upward mobility among about one-fourth of the total sample women in Vancouver and a little more than one-third in Edmonton. Many of these cases are found in the middle ranges of occupational class scale. But in Edmonton though not in Vancouver, a considerable number of cases of mobility are also found in the two lowest occupational classes. This difference may be related to the relatively higher educational back-

ground of Edmonton women which would equip them to achieve mobility whenever opportunity arises. Moreover, as Table VI-10 shows, it is also found that more Edmonton sample women (43 percent) than Vancouver sample women (36 percent) upgrade their educational training, and this may be another reason why they move up the occupational ladder more often than Vancouver sample women. But for women, the attainment of mobility and success depends to a large extent on their attitude toward work and success. These issues are taken up in the next sub-section.

Attitudes and Perceptions Concerning Work and Success

In order to assess the East Indian women's attitudes towards their work, work satisfaction and perception of achieving economic success in Canada, several indicators were used.

In terms of job satisfaction, as Table VI-11 shows, 68 percent of the sample women in Edmonton and 71 percent in Vancouver said that they were fairly satisfied with their present job, as Table 12 shows. However, about 30% in both the communities were found to be dissatisfied. The principal reasons given for dissatisfaction by women in the two communities were found to be different. Whereas the largest number of Edmonton sample women are dissatisfied because their job was "unrelated to their training" (35 percent), followed by those who found their work "uninteresting" (24 percent), the largest number of women in Vancouver expressed their dissatisfaction with their jobs because of "low pay" (31 percent), followed by "hard working conditions" (19 percent). These differing reasons for work dissatisfaction

TABLE VI-11

ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN CONCERNING THEIR JOB SATISFACTION - IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton			
	F	%	F	%
PERCEPTION OF FIRST JOB MATCHING QUALIFICATIONS				
1. Job Matched Qualifications	42	50.0	112	66.0
2. Over-Qualified for the Job	41	49.0	48	28.0
3. Under Qualified for the Job	1	1.0	10	6.0
Total	84	100.0	170	100.0
No response	9		27	
PERCEPTION OF THE PRESENT JOB MATCHING QUALIFICATIONS				
1. Job Matched Qualifications	17	30.0	74	45.0
2. Over-Qualified for the Job	21	37.0	63	38.0
3. Under Qualified for the Job	19	33.0	27	17.0
Total	57	100.0	164	100.0
No response	36		33	

TABLE VI-11 (CONTINUED)

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
PERCEPTION OF JOB AS SATISFACTORY				
1. Very Well Satisfied	22	25.0	65	39.0
2. Fairly Satisfied	37	43.0	53	32.0
3. Little Dissatisfied	16	18.0	34	20.0
4. Very Much Dissatisfied	12	14.0	15	9.0
Total	87	100.0	167	100.0
No response	6		30	
REASONS FOR DISSATISFACTION				
1. Uninteresting	7	24.0	8	15.0
2. Hard Working Conditions*	4	14.0	10	19.0
3. Unrelated to Training	10	34.0	8	15.0
4. Dead End Job	2	7.0	5	10.0
5. Less Pay	6	21.0	16	31.0
6. Other	0	0.0	5	10.0
Total	29	100.0	52	100.0
No response	64		145	

*Hard working conditions include unfriendly colleagues, long hours, harsh supervisor, etc.

reflect not only the different social class background of the women in the two communities, but also the differing social class structure of the two sub-samples. It should also be noted that very few women (7 percent in Edmonton and 10 percent in Vancouver) stated overtly that they were dissatisfied because they were in dead end jobs. It shows that among the sample women, an active concept of occupational mobility does not operate, although "low pay", "uninteresting work", "hard working conditions", unrelated to training" may all be associated with "dead end" employment.

Another indicator used to assess the work experience of East Indian women was the question of whether East Indian women found work in their field of specialization or not. Data, presented in Table VI-12 on the first job and on the present/last job revealed two different patterns for these two jobs. In their first job, 30 percent of the sample women in Edmonton and 22 percent in Vancouver said that they were working in their field of specialization. But in the present job category, a larger number, i.e. 47 percent and 58 percent respectively, said they were working in their field of specialization. Later in-depth interviews revealed that most women (particularly in Vancouver), rather than receiving some new specialized training which led to work in that area, entered an occupation which they then considered their field of specialization and felt satisfied with it. (This is more so in the case of lower occupations than in relatively higher occupations.) The remaining women were either not working in their specialization area or had no specialization. Those who were not working in their special fields showed (particularly in Edmonton) fair amount of work dissatisfaction for this reason.

TABLE VI-12

NUMBER OF JOBS HELD IN THEIR FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION BY THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
NUMBER OF JOBS HELD				
1. One	40	44.0	79	40.0
2. Two	23	26.0	60	31.0
3. Three	15	17.0	25	13.0
4. Four	7	8.0	17	9.0
5. Five or More	5	6.0	15	7.0
Total	90	101.0*	196	100.0
No response	3		1	
FIRST JOB HELD IN FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION				
1. Yes	26	30.0	42	22.0
2. No	36	41.0	50	27.0
3. No Specialization Field	25	29.0	94	50.0
4. No Response	0	0.0	2	1.0
Total	87	100.0	188	100.0
No response	6		9	
PRESENT JOB HELD IN FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION, IF SPECIALIZED				
1. Yes	28	47.0	68	58.0
2. No and No Specialized Field	32	53.0	49	42.0
Total	60	100	117	100.0
No response	33		80	

*Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

Further, some data were collected on the economic achievement of East Indian women. One indicator used was house ownership by their families. This was considered important because many women said that (a) they would not have been able to buy a house in India for the many years and (b) many stated that they work to help pay the mortgage on their house which was a high priority for their families. Data in Table VI-13 shows that the families of about 70 percent of women in Edmonton and 80 percent in Vancouver own their house, and these women expressed a sense of achievement in this ownership, as it indicates the potential earning power of the family and its savings. Thus, although some women were not satisfied with their own work situations, the majority said that as a family they have achieved some degree of economic success by migrating to Canada.

In addition to using the indicator of house ownership, the concept of economic achievement was also tested by their subjective perception, i.e. their perception of having achieved their expected economic goals. Though the question was put to them unequivocally, "To what extent do you think you have, yourself, independent of your husband's status, achieved economic success?" (economic success including good salary plus occupational status), yet it is the impression of the investigator and other interviewers that not many women could actually distinguish between their own and their husbands' economic status indicating success. Hence the answers given to this question, in most cases, probably reflect the "family" economic status and success more than the individual woman's success. With this Proviso, we see from Table VI-13 that a certain percentage of women in Both communities (21 percent of the sample women in Edmonton, as

TABLE VI-13

PERCEPTIONS OF ECONOMIC SUCCESS BY THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	EDMONTON		Total		VANCOUVER		Total		TOTAL	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
PERCEPTION OF ECONOMIC SUCCESS ACHIEVED										
1. None at all	19	21.0			27	14.0				
2. To some extent	39	44.0			103	54.0				
3. To a large extent	10	11.0			31	17.0				
4. All I hoped for	7	8.0			12	6.0				
5. Never thought about it	14	16.0	89	32.0	17	9.0	190	68.0	279	100
FAMILY HOUSE OWNERSHIP										
1. Yes	44	71.0			155	80.0				
2. No	18	29.0	62	24.0	39	20.0	194	76.0	256	100

compared with 14 percent in Vancouver) feel that they have achieved no success at all. The rest indicated that they thought they achieved economic success to varying extents, with some women (16 percent in Edmonton and 9 percent in Vancouver) having never thought about this question at all. These figures show that more than three-fourths of the sample women either consider themselves or their families as economically more or less successful, or at least not, in the case of those who thought about it, as positive failures. We conclude this section by noting that this could be interpreted as a fabourable comment on Canadian economic institution.

The above discussion concludes a presentation of the socio-demographic profile of the E.I. women in Edmonton and Vancouver and prepares the ground for inquiring into the relation between their social networks and occupational integration in Canada. But beofre we move into that area, a brief discussion of the general social network characteristics, related to the phenomenon of chain migration, would profitably serve as a transitional link between the theme of this chapter and that of the next. In the following pages we shall undertake a brief sketch of their social networks showing how most E.I. women find ready made social networks on arrival in Canada from which help and support is expected and received.

MIGRATION AND SOCIAL NETWORK

In the discussions of contemporary migration, an important factor which has received consideration is chain migration, where

family and kinship networks play an important role. Many people migrate to join friends and relatives, but even those who migrate for other reasons are often motivated and sponsored or nominated by friends and relatives. This phenomenon of sponsorship is particularly relevant in the case of E.I. married women, who, like other married immigrant women, come sponsored by their husbands, or as Boyd (1977) shows, are not considered to have independent status.

The data in Table VI-14 show that, in the two sub-samples, 28 percent of the women in Edmonton and 20 percent in Vancouver migrated because they were married Canadian immigrants or citizens. Another 24 percent and 30 percent respectively, give "husband's job" and "economic opportunities" as their main reason for migration. Close to three-quarters of the total sample women (70 percent in Edmonton and 82 percent in Vancouver) state, as shown in Table VI-14, that they were sponsored by their husbands or relatives. This shows that the mode of migration itself depends on the existence of a link for these women in Canada and establishes a network of famly and social relations.

Further, answers to the questions concerning the network strength on arrival, tabulated in Table VI-14, show that more than three-quarters of these women knew between one and 20 adult persons on arrival. Apart from statistics, in interviews, many women talked about how families of relatives and friends received and helped them settle on arrival. Only 25 percent of the women in Edmonton and 15 percent in Vancouver did not know anyone on arrival. This shows that the provisions of the immigration policy in Canada are conducive to creating large, overlapping social networks of immigrants in Canada. It also

TABLE VI-14

MIGRATION AND SOCIAL NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE WOMEN IN EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER

	Edmonton		Vancouver	
	F	%	F	%
REASON FOR MIGRATION				
1. Marriage	25	28.0	38	20.0
2. Husband's Decision	13	14.0	21	11.0
3. Better Economic Prospect	22	24.0	58	30.0
4. To Join Relations	11	12.0	31	16.0
5. Other	20	22.0	45	23.0
Total	91	100.0	193	100.0
No response	2		4	
MODE OF ENTRY				
1. Sponsored by Husband	27	30.0	41	22.0
2. Sponsored by Relatives	35	39.0	112	60.0
3. Applied Independently with Husband	28	31.0	34	18.0
Total	90	100.0	187	100.0
No response	3		10	
REASONS FOR CHOOSING EDMONTON/VANCOUVER				
1. To Join Relatives, Friends	61	72.0	154	81.0
2. Other	24	28.0	34	18.0
Total	85	99.0*	188	99.0*
No response	8		12	
SOCIAL NETWORK STRENGTH KNOWN AT ARRIVAL				
1. None	22	25.0	28	15.0
2. 1-20	56	63.0	107	56.0
3. 21-40	5	6.0	26	14.0
4. 41 or Above	6	7.0	30	16.0
Total	89	101.0*	191	101.0*
No response	4		6	

*Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

shows as Anderson (1974) indicates, that immigrants do not come to an unfamiliar and strange land, but join friends and relatives who may help to prepare them for life in their new homeland even before they arrive. These social networks, as we shall see later, are especially functional to women's adjustments.

As noted earlier, though only a small portion of women, i.e. 12 percent in Edmonton and 16 percent in Vancouver, reported "joining relatives and friends" as their main reason for migration, and joining the husband is not included in this category, the presence of friends and relatives in Canada plays a very vital role in their actual settlement. As Table VI-14 indicates, an overwhelming majority, 72 percent of the women in Edmonton and 82 percent in Vancouver, stated that they (and their husbands) decided to settle in these two cities because of friends and relatives. Thus it appears that the choice of the place of residence is dictated by the social kinship network considerations and expectations of help and support, which are almost always fulfilled. One Vancouver resondent said, "My husband was getting a job in Saskatchewan, but we did not move because my three brothers-in-law and their families are here." Another said, "My sister and her husband sponsored us and helped us settle here." Another woman in Edmonton said, "My brother sponsored us and he helped my husband find a job, and even after that (one month), we stayed with him." Finally, a family which was first in the United States, migrated to Edmonton because, "A friend of my husband's wrote to him about opportunities in Canada and offered us his home until my husband got a job." These remarks then indicate the nature and extent of help new immigrants receive from their friends and relatives.

In terms of the network differences between the Edmonton and Vancouver sub-samples, although the differences (around 10 percent) are not always statistically significant, they are indicative of the trends to be expected in the two communities, since one is a long-established and the other is a recently established settlement. For example, more women (28 percent) come to Edmonton because of marriage, i.e. sponsored by their husbands who were already in Canada than go to Vancouver (20 percent). This is probably because fewer marriageable girls are available in the newer Edmonton community than in the Vancouver community. An old Vancouver woman said, "My first daughter-in-law is from India, but I will look for my youngest son's bride here as there are many marriageable girls in our community." Moreover, as shown in Table VI-14, a greater number (82 percent) of Vancouver women chose to come to Vancouver than Edmonton women (72 percent) chose to come to Edmonton because of relatives and friends, again probably because Vancouver has much larger and longer established networks than Edmonton. Finally, in terms of numbers of persons known on arrival, 10 percent more women came to Edmonton knowing nobody than in Vancouver, probably for reasons similar to those stated above.

This section has shown how support is expected and given by the social networks of these women.

Now we are in a position to inquire into the main theme of this study, viz. the kind of support which E.I. women's social networks extend to them in their search for occupational integration. This task is undertaken in the following chapter in the form of tests of hypothesized relationships between the social networks of these women and their occupational integration in Canada.

CHAPTER VII

THE TESTS OF HYPOTHESES: INITIAL OCCUPATIONAL SEARCH AND MOBILITY QUEST

INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter we presented a socio-demographic profile of the East Indian working women in Edmonton and Vancouver. This chapter is concerned with probing into the relation between the social networks of these women and their occupational integration into the Canadian economy. The review of literature on social networks presented in Chapter III, established that social networks are generally instrumental in the occupational placement of all sorts of persons. This became the basis of drawing a general hypothesis of the nature, "social networks of East Indian immigrant women help in their occupational integration in Canadian economy." But knowing this alone is sociologically not very interesting or illuminating; we need to acquire deeper understanding of the specifics of this social process within different social influences. For example, we need to know what kind of social networks are instrumental in these women's occupational placement, i.e. male networks or female networks, ethnic networks or non-ethnic networks, networks having high occupational status or low occupational status? Secondly, we need to find out, in what kind of occupational venture these networks are helpful. In creating work aspiration? In establishing norms of success? In initial occupational placement? In achievement of occupational mobility?

All these questions are embodied in the eight hypotheses drawn for the purpose of exploring specific dimensions of this process. These hypotheses were stated in Chapter III and are tested in the present chapter.

Before we report the findings from individual hypotheses tests, a note is needed on the procedure adopted for testing the hypotheses. It was initially expected that a single test would be conducted on the combined sample of women from Edmonton and Vancouver. However, a comparison of characteristics of the two samples in the preceding chapter showed that we were dealing with two different kinds of populations in terms of their demographic and occupational characteristics. On the advice of a senior methodologist, with whom the issue was discussed, it was considered inappropriate to pool two such contrasting samples. Hence it was decided that the hypotheses should be tested separately for Edmonton and for Vancouver. This, as we shall see, has led to sociologically very interesting findings.

The level of significance chosen for testing these hypotheses is .05.

A word about control variables which are used in two contexts. Where factual information about jobs is concerned, only "social class" and "education" are used because these two factors are likely to affect placement and mobility of East Indian women. But where attitudinal variables, such as motivation, aspiration and commitment are concerned, such variables as husband's attitude towards wives working, and length of stay in Canada, are also used, as they are considered important in influencing women's attitude towards work and success.

The first four hypotheses are related to the process of initial occupational adjustment of East Indian women, which, for the present research, means the role of social networks in creating work motivation and in channelling these women into their first jobs. In the context of mobility, their first job is of crucial importance, since it could be a dead-end job or could have mobility potential, thus blocking them from or leading them to future success.

The remaining four hypotheses deal with achievement of success by these women in their occupational field which implies intended and actual mobility, and the functional role of their networks in the achievement of mobility.

HYPOTHESIS I

Working Status of Female Networks and Work Motivation of East Indian Women

Hypothesis I asserts that:

> "The working status of women in the social networks of East Indian women will be positively associated with their level of work motivation."

Purpose

The purpose of testing this hypothesis is to discover the normative influence of East Indian women's social networks on their work motivation, the expectation being that sample women who have working women in their networks will show higher work motivation than those whose social networks contain non-working women. Though a truism, it is relevant to point out that while almost all men work, women enter the world of work under special and varying motivation.

Data and Statistical Procedure

For the purpose of testing this hypothesis, the working status of the respondent's female networks was categorized as "working" and "not working". The work motivation of East Indian women was measured by asking sample women the principal reason for their working. Those who said that they worked for reasons of necessity (economic or social) were categorized as being in the "low motivation" category, whereas those who worked to build a career or to utilize their training were considered "highly motivated." As noted in the chapter on methodology, these, like all such indicators, are arbitrary, but were chosen for the following reason. Women who work

due to economic or social necessity would work irrespective of the work norms of their female social networks. But those women who work for reasons other than economic, are likely to be influenced, among other things, by work status and work norms prevailing within their female social networks.

The test of this hypothesis involved cross-tabulating work status of female network members by respondent's work motivation. Hence data on the two variables were cross-tabulated, and Chi Square tests as well as contingency co-efficient statistics, were applied to test the significance and the strength of the relationship.

Findings

The results presented in Table VII-1 show that in the case of the Vancouver sample, the two variables are found to be significantly related at <.05 level of significance, i.e. there is a statistically significant positive relation between the work motivation of the E.I. women and working status of their female networks. In terms of the strength of association, Contingency Coefficient = .18 which shows that the two variables are weakly related. The hypothesis appears to be confirmed for Vancouver.

The relationship between the working status of female networks and work motivation of E.I. women in Edmonton sample was not found statistically significant at .05 level of significance, so in the case of Edmonton women, the hypothesis is not confirmed.

The result of the foregoing analysis appears to indicate that the relationship between the two variables is different in the two communities. There appear to be other influences, besides working

status of female networks, which operate in different directions in each of the two communities. We noted earlier, that demographic distribution of women in the two communities showed marked differences, particularly on the variables of education and social class background. Hence partial correlation analysis was used on Vancouver data controlling for (a) education; (b) social class; and (since motivation is an attitudinal variable) (c) husband's attitude towards wifes working.

(a) Controlling for education, the relationship between work motivation of E.I. immigrant women and the working status of their female social networks was found to be highly significant, at <.05 level of significance among highly educated women. But it was not found significant in the case of women with low education.

(b) Controlling for social class, the relationship between the two variables was again found significant at <.05 level of significance for upper class women. But in the case of lower class women, it was not found significant at all.

(c) Controlling for husband's attitude, it is interesting to note that the relationship was found significant for both categories of control variable (favourable as well as unfavourable attitude), though in the case of women whose husbands had a favourable attitude, it was highly significant at 0.000 level of significance. It means that work motivation of E.I. women is significantly related to the working status of their female networks, irrespective of their husband's attitude. This is an important finding in terms of the normative influence that working women in the social networks of E.I. women exert on their work attitude.

TABLE VII-1

Work Motivation of Respondents by
Employment Status of Female Networks With
Chi Square - Vancouver Sample

Employment Status of Female Networks	Work Motivation of Respondents: HIGH	Work Motivation of Respondents: LOW	
Employed	15 (10.14%)	29 (74.64%)	44 100%
Unemployed	10 (25.64%)	133 (89.86%)	143 100%
	25	162	187

Chi square = 21.35
df = 1
Level of significance = p .:000
Contingency coefficient = .48

The hypothesized relationship was not found significant at .05 level of significance for any of the control categories in case of Edmonton sample.

Interpretation

These findings from the partial correlation analysis tend to provide partial support for the first hypothesis in the case of working women from Vancouver. They lead to the conclusion that in the case of women with higher education and upper class background, the working status of their female network members does appear to provide positive normative influence on their work motivation, but it does not seem to affect working women in Edmonton sample. Hence some other factor or factors, not identified in this research, are responsible for the observed differences between the two communities, as far as the first hypothesis is concerned. Discussion of such factors will form a topic in the final chapter.

HYPOTHESIS 2

Sex of Contacts and Occupational Placement

> "Male social networks to which E.I. women have access, are more frequently a source of their actual placement than are their female networks."

Purpose

The purpose of testing this hypothesis is to discover whether it is the male networks or the female networks of E.I. women which help them in securing most of their jobs. It is based on the assumption that men in this society are more often in a position of

power and can exercise greater influence in arranging placement for people than women.

Data and Statistical Procedure

This hypothesis was tested separately on E.I women from Edmonton and from Vancouver. To measure the relative male network support versus female network support in their occupational placement, data were collected on the first job channel, last job channel and the highest status job channel of these women in both communities. If the channel was found to be a person, then data on the sex of the person was collected and the differences in the number of male and female channels were calculated. A suitable statistical technique for testing this hypothesis was to work out percentage differences between the males and the females who provided information and/or recommendation leading to the actual job placement in each of the three jobs.

Findings

The analysis of Vancouver data, presented in table VII-2, indicates that the female networks of these women were far more frequent sources of information which led to their job placement than were male networks, in all three categories of jobs. Specifically, 75% of their first jobs, 73% of their last jobs, and 81% of their highest status jobs, were obtained using information/recommendation supplied by their women friends.

TABLE VII-2

SEX OF CONTACT FROM WHOM JOB PLACEMENT INFORMATION WAS RECEIVED FOR EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER SAMPLES (FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

Vancouver

	Male		Female		Missing	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
First Job	25	25.0	75	75.0	0	00.0
Last Job	11	27.0	30	73.0	0	00.0
Highest Status Job	4	19.0	17	81.0	0	00.0

Edmonton

	Male		Female		Missing	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
First Job	20	44.0	22	49.0	3	7.0
Last Job	3	30.0	6	60.0	1	10.0
Highest Status Job	2	18.2	9	82.0	0	00.0

The analysis of data for Edmonton revealed a somewhat different picture. Table VII-2 indicates that the female networks of Edmonton women are still more frequent sources of job placement in all the three jobs than are their male networks, although in comparison to Vancouver women, more women in Edmonton appear to find first jobs through their male networks (i.e 44% as compared with 25%). The same trend is seen in the case of last job and the highest status job (though the number of cases in these two job categories are very small). These data clearly indicate the primacy of female networks support over male network support.

The in-depth interview data in Edmonton indicated that often, newly married women who come to Edmonton get their first job information from their husband's male friends, especially if the husband had been living by himself in Canada and had only bachelor friends. This was not found to be frequent in Vancouver.

This hypothesis then, is not confirmed for either Edmonton or for Vancouver, and the conclusion is that it is the female networks of E.I. women who are, on the whole, far more frequent sources of their job placement than are their male networks.

Interpretation

This is an unexpected finding. A probable explanation of this finding is that as we noted in Chapter VI, most E.I. women, whether in a higher or a lower status occupation, are in sex specific occupations. It is likely that they receive job information and recommendation through their other female friends who may themselves be in such occupations. If so, it gives a very important clue about

"information source" of such occupations, namely that information about such occupations travels primarily through female networks. If this is the case then the greater power positions of their male networks seem to have little relevance for these women's job placements. This finding has special implications for (a) the contributions of E.I. women immigrants to Canadian economy, and (b) certain policy measures to be suggested later.

HYPOTHESIS 3

Ethnicity of Social Networks and Occupational Placement

The third hypothesis asserted that:

> "The ethnic networks of the East Indian women are more frequent sources of their actual job placement than are their non-ethnic social networks."

Purpose

The purpose of testing this hypothesis is to find out whether, as is the case with other immigrant groups, E.I. women also get placement help from their ethnic social networks which means other East Indians. Secondly, in what kinds of jobs are these networks helpful? In their first jobs? last jobs? highest status jobs? This inquiry is expected to give a clue as to the kind of job information to which East Indian immigrants have access and which they can pass on to their contacts.

Data and Statistical Procedure

This hypothesis was tested using data from each community separately, and the findings from the two communities were again dissimilar and unexpected. Data were collected on the channel of the first job, last job and the highest status job of E.I. women in both communities. If the channel was a person, data on the ethnicity of this person was collected and categorized as ethnic (East Indians) or non-ethnic (White Canadians and others) for each of the three job categories. Then their percentage differences were calculated.

Findings

First Job

In the case of E.I. women's first job, this hypothesis was overwhelmingly confirmed for both communities. About 85% of E.I. women in Vancouver and 71% in Edmonton, out of those who got their first job through personal channels, did so through ethnic social network, i.e. other East Indians, rather than through non-ethnic, i.e. White Canadian friends. Hence ethnic social networks of E.I. women are found to be far more important for their initial occupational placement than non-ethnic social networks. One likely reason could be that, under the present immigration policy, most of the new immigrants come sponsored or nominated and have their contacts within East Indian networks who help them initially, hence they do not need to seek contacts or assistance outside their ethnic group.

TABLE VII-3

ETHNICITY OF CONTACT FROM WHOM JOB PLACEMENT INFORMATION WAS RECEIVED FOR VANCOUVER AND EDMONTON SAMPLE (FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)

Vancouver

	E. Indians		W. Canadians		Other	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
First Job	86	85.0	14	14.0	1	1.0
Last Job	33	81.5	7	17.0	1	2.0
Highest Status Job	12	55.0	8	36.0	2	9.0

Edmonton

	E. Indians		W. Canadians		Other	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
First Job	30	72.0	9	21.0	3	7.0
Last Job	4	44.0	5	56.0	0	00.0
Highest Status Job	3	30.0	6	60.0	1	10.0

Last Job

In the case of their last job, which ranges from the second to, in rare cases, the eighth job, the analysis shows that about 80% of Vancouver women got their last job through East Indian social networks, and only 20% got the information from White Canadian friends. Hence it appears that there are no statistically significant differences in the first and last job in terms of the ethnicity of persons providing information to the Vancouver sample women.

For Edmonton, however, the case of the last job channel appears to be different from that in Vancouver. About 55% of Edmonton sample women got their last job through non-ethnic networks, and the interview data indicate that often they get some information from their White female fellow workers they encounter in their first or subsequent jobs. This is particularly true in the case of women in low paying occupations. Though there is no adequate statistical evidence (as the number of cases (5) is very small), in-depth interviews indicate that Edmonton sample women have relatively more interaction with their white female co-workers on their jobs than Vancouver women. One Edmonton respondent said, "When I was laid off (in a garment factory), "gori" (the "fair woman") there told me of this place; she worked here previously". Another said, "These "goris" are friendly on the job, but don't invite us to their homes", or "An Italian woman I worked with earlier, told her Italian friend about me and he gave me a packing job". No similar comments were recorded for Vancouver.

Highest Status Job

The data were also analysed for the highest status job channel in both communities. Here the pattern that emerged for both Vancouver and Edmonton is different from the pattern of their first job and last job. (The last job of many, is, very often, not the highest status job.) First, we note that very few women got their highest status job through personal channels. Whereas 100 women in Vancouver got their first job through social networks, only 21 got their highest status job through this channel. Out of these, only 54.5% got it through ethnic social networks. In Edmonton, of those who got highest status jobs through personal channels, only 30% got it through their ethnic networks. This shows that the percentage of East Indian women who find their highest status job through their East Indian networks is much smaller than their percentage in other job catgories. Regarding their highest status job then, we can conclude that (1) White Canadian contacts of E.I. women are more frequent sources of placement in their highest status jobs than in their other jobs in both communities, and (2) White Canadian contacts are also more frequent sources of placement for the last jobs of Edmonton women than are their East Indian friends.

Interpretation

From these findings, it is clear that ethnic networks of contact of E.I. women are most helpful in their initial occupational placement in both communities, and in Vancouver, they are also helpful in the placement in lower status occupations over the years. However, they are not as effective in providing information on higher status

jobs. Accordingly it appears that ethnic networks do not help in securing all categories of jobs, but mainly those at the lower occupational level. This conclusion is consistent with the findings of some other research studies regarding lower status occupations and ethnic network help. (Anderson 1974, Turrittin 1976.)

HYPOTHESIS 4

Social Networks and Ethnic Clustering in Occupations

> "There will be found a similarity between the occupational class and category of the East Indian immigrant women's present job and the occupational clan and category of the present job of their female social networks."

Purpose

The purpose of testing this hypothesis is to discover to what extent do women in the social networks of E.I. immigrant women, channel them into occupations similar to their own. This is what leads to ethnic clustering in certain occupations. If this hypothesis is confirmed, it would show that the phenomenon of ethnic clustering in occupations is, in part, a function of social network support.

Statistical Procedure and Data

To test this hypothesis, the Index of Dissimilarity was chosen on the advice of a statistician, as the most appropriate statistic. This is an uncommon statistic (Bogue Johnston, 1977) but is best suited to assess whether statistically, two percentage distributions are similar or dissimilar. It is calculated as follows:

Two percentage distributions are placed into required categories in two columns, and then the differences between each of the categories are calculated and placed into a third category column of differences represented by the sign of the Index of Dissimilarity = . Then all the differences are added and divided by two. The resulting value denotes similar or dissimilar distribution. The critical value, calculated by statisticians, which is the dividing point between similar and dissimilar distributions, is 10. It means that any value of differences between two distributions which is 10 or less, denotes similarity of distribution, whereas any such value exceeding 10 indicates dissimilar distribution.

Data

To test our hypothesis, data on the respondent's present jobs (which they got through their female social networks) and on the present jobs of their female networks, were compared to see whether the occupational category and occupational class of both the groups were similar or dissimilar. Respondent's present job was chosen for this test because comparable data was available only on the present jobs of their female social networks. (Our respondents did not know much about the previous jobs of their female friends.)

The procedure to procure two distributions was as follows. All the present jobs of the respondents were ranked by using Blishen's occupational prestige scale (according to the procedure specified in methodology chapter) and were placed in seven occupational prestige classes ranging from 1 = highest prestige class, to 7 = lowest prestige class. Later, in each class occupational categories were

specified, e.g. class IV consists mainly of skilled clerical, nursing, technical, social work and school teaching occupations. Similarly, the median occupational ranks of these women's female social networks was calculated by using Blishen's occupational prestige scale and were placed in one of the seven occupational prestige classes. This procedure gave us two percentage distributions which could be compared. Then two separate Indices of Dissimilarity were calculated; one for Edmonton and one for Vancouver, according to the procedure described above. These are presented in table VII-4.

Findings

The values of the Indices of Dissimilarity, indicate that in both cases, the distributions of the respondents in their present job class and category, both for Edmonton and for Vancouver, are "statistically" dissimilar from the occupational class distribution of their female network of contacts. Our table shows that for Vancouver, the value of differences between the present job occupational class distribution of the respondents and the distribution of some occupational class of their female networks, is 19. The value of the differences of the same two distributions for Edmonton is 15. Since these two values exceed the critical value of 10; and since any calculated value of difference exceeding 10 indicates dissimilar distribution, we conclude that for both Edmonton and Vancouver, these distributions are statistically dissimilar. Therefore our hypothesis is not supported by statistics.

TABLE VII-4

INDEX OF DISSIMILARITY BETWEEN THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF THE RESPONDENT'S PRESENT/LAST JOB AND THE MEDIAN OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF THE PRESENT JOB OF THEIR FEMALE CONTACTS FOR THE EDMONTON AND VANCOUVER SAMPLES

Edmonton

Occupational Class	Percentage Distribution of Female Contacts in Present Job	Percentage Distribution Respondents in Present Job	Absolute Difference
One	0.0	2.0	2.0
Two	5.0	8.0	3.0
Three	22.0	15.0	7.0
Four	28.0	30.0	2.0
Five	13.0	14.0	2.5
Six	27.0	14.0	3.5
Seven	5.0	14.0	9.0
			2 30.0
	100.0	12.0	15.0

Vancouver

Occupational Class	Percentage Distribution of Female Contacts in Present Job	Percentage Distribution Respondents in Present Job	Absolute Difference
One	0.0	2.0	2.0
Two	4.0	4.0	0.0
Three	8.0	6.0	2.0
Four	15.0	16.0	2.0
Five	15.0	2.0	14.0
Six	24.0	20.0	4.0
Seven	34.0	50.0	14.0
			2 38.0
	100.0		19.0

Interpretation

Although, as seen above, the total percentage distribution of the sample women in the seven occupational classes is "statistically" dissimilar from the same distribution of E.I. women's female contacts, some interesting comparisons can be made in separate category cells of these distributions. We note that the percentage of women in their present job, and the percentage of their female networks in class four (which is the middle level occupational prestige class) is quite similar for both Edmonton and Vancouver and this could give some evidence for the phenomenon of ethnic clustering in these occupations due to social network support.

Again, in both communities, as far as the three lowest occupational classes, i.e. 5, 6, and 7 are concerned, the sample percentage distribution is dissimilar from the percentage distribution of the occupational class of their female friends in each of the three classes taken separately. But the Vancouver sample shows some interesting comparisons. The total combined percentage distribution of women in the three lowest occupational classes in Vancouver, is the same as the total percentage distribution of their female friends in these classes; i.e. they constitute around 70% of the total Vancouver sample. Thus, putting the three lower occupational classes together reveals some similarity between these occupational classes of our sample members and their female social networks. From this we can infer some ethnic clustering at the lower occupational levels (which consists of occupations like sewing, canning, packing, kitchen aid, babysitting, janitorial work, etc.), as a result of social network support.

Our final conclusion is that though there is no statistical similarity in the case of total sample of Vancouver women and their female social networks, some evidence of similarity can be found in certain occupations.

This particular finding leads to another interesting obser-vtion about the formation of social networks in Vancouver. Although women from the three lowest occupational classes do not form their social networks from the same occupational class and category, yet their social networks are not very different in terms of occupational prestige category. These women have women friends from only slightly different occupational levels. This is not surprising as very few of these women would be expected to have women friends from higher occupational categories such as doctors, engineers, professors, government officials. This could be one of the reasons, as shall be shown later, why female social networks do not appear to induce mobility aspirations among lower occupational classes.

The comparative distribution of women in each of the occupational classes in Edmonton, is different from Vancouver. The three lowest occupational class distributions of the respondents are quite dissimilar from the same distribution of their women friends. There appears to be no similarity between the occupational categories of the sample women and that of their female networks in the Edmonton sample, with the exception of class 4. Hence there is not much evidence of ethnic clustering in occupations in Edmonton due to social networks.

This particular finding also suggests that social networks formation in Edmonton is little reflective of occupational class lines but tends to consist of a cross section of occupational classes. On

the other hand, in Vancouver social networks apparently tend to be structured more along occupational class lines. This also points to some interesting conclusions, to be discussed later, in terms of rigid versus loose class structures in the two communities.

HYPOTHESIS 5

Occupational Status of Female Networks and Respondents Work Commitment

The sixth hypothesis states that:

> "The occupational level or status of women in the social networks of East Indian women will be positively associated with their occupational commitment (interest in continued employment)."

Purpose

This hypothesis aims at discovering the normative influence of the occupational status or level of the female networks of E. I. women on their "work commitment". Commitment is regarded as an essential pre-condition for occupational success, which is seen to be lacking in most women. The expectation from this hypothesis was that, if confirmed, it would show that the higher the occupational status of a woman's female friends, the higher will be her own occupational commitment.

Data and Statistical Procedures

To test this hypothesis, the median occupational level or status of each woman's female networks was assessed, as in the pre-

vious hypothesis (4), by using Blishen's (1964) occupational scale. These data were then categorized in high and low status categories. Her work commitment was determined by inquiring whether she would continue to work even if there were no financial or social pressures on her. Those who said they would, were considered as highly committed, whereas those who said they would discontinue work, were in the "low commitment" category. The data were analyzed separately for the two communities by means of cross tabulation using Chi Square and contingency coefficient statistics.

Findings

Analysis of 165 cases in the Vancouver sample showed that the relationship between these variables was significant at <.05 level of significance with the contingency coefficient equalling to .47. This means that in Vancouver, sample women having female networks with higher occupational ranks are likely to be more committed to work than those whose female social networks contain women with low occupational ranks. In fact our data showed that a very large number of women have female networks with low occupational rank and also they have low work commitment.

This is consistent with the finding of hypothesis 4 which shows that 70% of Vancouver women are concentrated in three lowest status occupations.

As the number of cases in high status occupation category cells were small, no partial correction analysis was conducted.

No significant relationship was found when Edmonton data was analyzed.

TABLE VII-5

Occupational Commitment of Respondents by Occupational Status/Level of Female Networks With Chi Square - Vancouver Sample

Occupational Status of Female Networks	Work Commitment of Respondents: HIGH	Work Commitment of Respondents: LOW	
HIGH	26 (70.28%)	11 (29.72%)	37 100%
LOW	20 (15.63%)	108 (84.37%)	128 100%
	46	119	165

Chi square = 42.55
df = 1
Level of significance = .000
Contingency coefficient = .47

From these findings, we conclude that these two variables are significantly related in the case of women from Vancouver only. The relationship can be described as moderately strong as the contingency coefficient is = .47. Before discussing this conclusion we shall first report the findings from hypothesis 6, which also deals with the normative influence of female social networks on E.I. women's mobility aspiration. The findings from hypotheses 5 and 6 will be interpreted together.

HYPOTHESIS 6

Occupational Status of Female Networks and Respondent's Interest in Mobility

Hypothesis six asserts:

> "East Indian women who come in contact with women having higher median occupational status, will show more interest in occupational mobility than those who do not have access to such networks."

Purpose

Hypothesis six like the hypothesis five aims at assessing the normative functioning of female social networks of E. I. women, in the context of their mobility aspirations.

Data and Statistical Procedure

To test this hypothesis "interest in mobility" of East Indian women was determined by asking specifically whether, when these women got their first job and later their present job, did they think in terms of its mobility potential at all. The occupational level of their female networks was determined, as before, by ranking their

jobs, according to Blishen's (1964) occupational prestige scale and categorizing their median occupational ranks into high and low occupational status categories. The procedure chosen for testing this hypothesis was, again, cross tabulation analysis using Chi Square and contingency coefficient statistics.

Findings

The findings from the statistical analysis seen in Table VII-6, show that for the Vancouver sample (159 cases) the association between these two variables is significant at <.05 level of significance, though the relationship is rather weak with the contingency coefficient equaling .31. This suggests that Vancouver women whose female social networks belong to a higher occupational status level are more aware of and interested in achieving occupational mobility as compared to women with female networks with lower occupational levels.

No such significant relation was found for the Edmonton sample. The observed relationship for the Vancouver sample was further analyzed using partial correlation technique while controlling for education, social class, duration of stay, and husband's attitude towards wife's employment, to discover whether any of these variables affect the relationship.

(a) Controlling for education, among the highly educated women the relationship was found to be significant at <.05 level of significance, however it was not significant for women with low educational levels.

(b) It was significant at .05 and .04 levels for both upper and lower social class women.

TABLE VII-6

Respondents' Interest in Mobility by Occupational Status of Female Networks With Chi Square-Vancouver Sample

Occupational Status of Female Networks	Interest in Mobility: HIGH	Interest in Mobility: LOW	
HIGH	15 (37.5%)	25 (62.5%)	40 100%
LOW	11 (9.24%)	108 (90.76%)	119 100%
	26	133	159

Chi Square = 17.47
df = 1
Level of significance .000
Contingency coefficient = .31

(c) Controlling for duration of stay, it was significant at <.05 level of significance for women with a short period of stay in Vancouver. However it was found not to be significant for women who stayed longer but their number was very small (only 9).

(d) Controlling for husband's attitude. This relationship was found significant at <.05 level of significance, only in the case of women whose husbands had a favourable attitude towards their employment.

The findings from this hypothesis again show that the predicted relation between the median occupational status of E.I. immigrant women's networks and their interest in mobility is significant only for one category of Vancouver East Indian women, viz., highly educated, mostly upper class, recent arrivals, whose husbands approve of their employment. Given these findings, the hypothesis finds only limited support among Vancouver E.I. women.

Interpretation of the Findings from Hypotheses 5 and 6

The purpose of testing both hypotheses was to assess the influence of social network norms on the attitudes of E.I. women towards work and success. The conclusion drawn was that female social networks do influence the attitudes of women in the Vancouver sample with certain qualifications. The literature on women and success, as noted earlier, suggests that one of the many barriers to women's aspirations for success is a lack of culturally accepted role models of successful women. Interpreting our findings on the same lines, we can point out that it is not surprising that work commitment and mobility aspirations are found only among women whose social networks

contain women "successful" in their occupations, who can create norms of success and thus become role models for others. One Vancouver woman said "In India I never thought I shall want a career. But seeing my friends here, I feel I can also do something important." An Edmontonian said "My "doctorni" (lady doctor) friend is a big boss in her clinic. I also want to be "somebody" one day." Several women in Vancouver decided to upgrade themselves because "we don't want to remain behind our circle of friends. They got good jobs after training."

The same phenomenon of "lack of role models" can also explain our findings about women in low occupations, whose female social networks have low occupational status, showing low work commitment and low mobility aspirations.

HYPOTHESIS 7

Hypothesis 7 states:

> "Jobs found through female social networks of the E. I. women are less frequently "stepping stone" jobs (with mobility potential) than jobs found through their male networks".

Purpose

The purpose of testing this hypothesis is to find out whether male and female social networks of E. I. women give them differential access to jobs with mobility potential or not. The assumption under which this hypothesis (like hypothesis 2) was drawn was that as men in this society are the whole, in more powerful

positions for job allocation and promotion than women, they are more likely to channel people into "stepping stone" jobs.

Data and Statistical Procedure

This hypothesis was tested on E.I. women's first job and last job. Data on the sex of contacts who channelled these women into their first jobs and last jobs were collected. The "stepping stone" jobs versus "dead end" were determined by asking women whether their jobs contain possibility of further advancement or whether these were such that could enable them to apply for a better job. Then the two variables (viz. sex of contact and job type) were cross-tabulated and were subjected to Chi Square test and contingency coefficient statistic to measure the significance and strength of relationship.

Findings

The analysis of relevant data for Edmonton sample presented in Table VII-7 shows that the predicted relationship between the two variables was found significant at <.05 level of significance with contingency coefficient as .42. Hence the hypothesis is confirmed for Edmonton. This means that Edmonton women do get "stepping stone" jobs more often through their male social networks than through their female social networks. However, this relationship was not found significant when data were analyzed for the Vancouver sample. It is worth noting this is the only hypothesis which is confirmed for Edmonton and not for Vancouver sample.

TABLE VII-7

Occupational Mobility of the Respondents by Sex of Contact With Chi Square
Edmonton Sample

Sex of Contact	STEPPING STONE JOBS	DEAD END JOBS	
MALE	15 (83.33%)	3 (16.67%)	18 100%
FEMALE	7 (36.84%)	12 (63.16%)	19 100%
	22	15	37

* Chi Square = 8.30
df = 1
Level of Significance p = .005
Contingency Coefficient = .42

* It was expected that Yates correction will be used for this table. But calculations showed that the lowest expected cell value is above 5. Hence no corrections were required.

In view of these differences between the two communities, partial correlation analysis was again conducted to see if the relationship disappears when education and social class are controlled.

(a) Controlling for education for Edmonton sample women, the relationship was found to be statistically significant, for women with high education, at <.05 level of significance.

(b) Controlling for social class it was also found significant at <.05 level of significance for women belonging to upper class. This relationship, however, was not statistically significant for women with low education and lower social class background.

The hypothesized relationship was not found to be significant for any of the categories of control variables for Vancouver.

When the hypothesis was tested for the last or the present job of women in the Edmonton and Vancouver samples, the relationship was either not found to be significant or there were not enough cases in each cell to allow any meaningful relation to emerge.

These findings provide only qualified support for this hypothesis. Only in the Edmonton sample do we find that women with higher education and upper social class background receive help from their male social networks (in channelling them into jobs with mobility potential) more often than from their female networks. It is important to note that in the case of women with lower educational and lower social class background, those who find stepping stone jobs, do so mainly through their women friends.

Interpretation

Our interpretation of this conclusion, based upon some of the characteristics of the sample, discussed in Chapter VI, involves the following points:

1. It is likely that the male networks of E.I. women help them in their mobility search in Edmonton but not in Vancouver because of the differential nature of their jobs and education. From the analysis of data presented in Chapter VI it was evident that most Edmonton women are relatively more educated and are in better occupational classes and slightly more prestigious jobs. Vancouver women on the whole are in low status occupational class and highly sex-specific jobs. It seems likely that their male networks have more information and more access to the kinds of jobs obtained by Edmonton women (i.e. slightly higher occupational class jobs with mobility potential) and so are able to channel their women into these positions.

2. This relationship between male network support and stepping stone jobs is not found to be significant in the case of women in Vancouver and one category of E.I. women in Edmonton. The reason appears to be either that they do not find any significant number of stepping stone jobs or, since the majority of these women are in highly sex-specific jobs, it is likely that information about such jobs (and even access to what Anderson (1974) calls "gate keepers" of the job) is sex-specific, obtainable only through female networks. Hence, male networks are not especially helpful in channelling them into stepping stone jobs. It should also be remembered, as was discovered from the analysis of hypothesis 4, that, at least in Vancouver, social networks appear to follow class lines. For this

reason it is unlikely that male contacts of lower occupational class women, who may themselves be in low status, dead end jobs, would have access to, or much information about, stepping stone jobs into which their women could be directed. Hence it is not surprising if they fail to direct them into stepping stone jobs.

HYPOTHESIS 8

Occupational Status of Contact and Occupational Mobility

The eighth hypothesis states:

> "The East Indian women having social networks in which the median occupational level is high, will tend to find "stepping stone" jobs, and those who have social networks in which the median occupational level is low will tend to find "ead-end" jobs."

The Purpose

The purpose of testing this hypothesis was to assess the differential functioning of high status networks and low status networks of East Indian women in obtaining jobs with mobility potential.

Data and Statistical Procedure

The "mobility potential" of jobs was determined by asking women whether their first job and their present job contained possibilities of advancement, was it such that it could train them for higher paying and/or more prestigious jobs. The median level of their social networks was determined by using Blishen's (1964) occupational scale, as used in hypotheses 2 and 6. The data were analyzed separately for

TABLE VII-8

Job Type of the Respondent by Median Occupational Status of Their (Male and Female) Social Networks with Chi Square - Vancouver Sample

JOB TYPE

Occupational Status of Social Networks	STEPPING STONE	DEAD END	
HIGH	68 (55.28%)	55 (44.72%)	123 100%
LOW	9 (27.28%)	24 (72.72%)	33 100%
	77	79	156

* Chi Square = 8.95
df = 1
Level of Significance .005
Contingency Coefficient = .23

* It was expected that Yates correction will be used for this table. But calculations showed that the lowest expected cell value is above 5. Hence no corrections were required.

their male networks and female networks. The hypothesis was tested on 156 women in the Vancouver sample and on 83 in Edmonton sample. The findings yielded by the statistical analysis of these data, are presented in Table VII-8, below.

Findings

The predicted relationship between the two variables was found to be significant <.05 level of significance with a contingency coefficient of .23 for Vancouver women in the case of occupational rank of their female social networks only. No significant relationship was observed in the case of the occupational status of male social networks for the Vancouver sample.

The relationship was not found signficant at all for the Edmonton sample.

On the basis of these findings, we conclude that the level of occupational status of their female social networks appears to significantly affect the mobility chances of Vancouver women. It is clear that their female social networks with higher occupational status are more likely to channel them into stepping stone jobs, whereas women who have female friends with lower occupational status tend more to be in dead end jobs. However, this is not true of the Edmonton sample members.

Interpretation

Looking at the breakdown of social networks into high and low occupational level categories, we discovered that members of female social networks with high median occupational levels appear to

channel their women friends more often into stepping stone jobs. Conversely, lower status female networks channel their women friends more often into dead end jobs. This finding is not surprising. Women with higher occupational levels usually achieve mobility themselves and often have access to information about jobs with advancement possibilities. Thus, whether they themselves are aware of the importance of such jobs for future success or not (and often they are not) they would still channel other women into such jobs.

On the other hand, female social networks with low median occupational levels probably channel women into dead end jobs because they themselves are in dead end jobs and know little of other types of jobs. Thus in channelling their women friends into dead end jobs, they often block their chances of future occupational success. These findings then lend some support to the particularistic interpretation of the attainment of mobility and success, even in an open, equal opportunity society.

The next chapter contains a summary of the results of testing the hypotheses and a discussion of some of the implications of these findings.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to test a series of hypotheses derived from social network theory. The statistical analysis of the hypotheses which was conducted in the last chapter has been considered only as supportive of certain conclusions to be drawn on the basis of logic and reasoning. As Johnson (1977) and Olson (1976) point out, statistics by themselves do not speak much, but require logical arguments to be made meaningful in the context of the discussion of the problem. Thus the role of the statistical analysis has been conceived as secondary and supportive to the logical arguments presented in this study.

Before we discuss the findings, we shall briefly summarize them in order to make them easily available for interpretation.

As we noted above, the hypotheses tests were meant to assess the role that the social networks play in the two stages of East Indian women's occupational adjustment to Canada, viz. (1) initial job search, and (2) mobility aspirations and achievement leading to economic success.

In respect to the initial occupational adjustment of the women, the following propositions were the focus of hypotheses testing.

Hypothesis 1 was based on the normative aspect of social networks. It was hypothesized that social network norms create aspiration or motivation to work, among East Indian women, since married women's work force participation is not a norm in this or in East Indian society. Accordingly, aspiration or motivation to work is hypothesized to be a function of the particular social network of these women. (This is similar to Merton's reference group theory.)

The findings from this hypothesis showed that this is the case with women in Vancouver sample with some qualifications discussed above. However the women of the Edmonton community appear to be relatively unaffected by their social network's normative influence.

Hypothesis 2 stated that male social networks are more helpful in actual job placement of these women than their female social networks. This presupposition was tested for the women of both communities in their first as well as in their last job. In both cases, it was discovered that the male social networks are not half as frequent a source of occupational placement as female networks, for both the women of the Edmonton community or Vancouver community and there was no support for this hypothesis. Though the hypothesis is not confirmed yet in Edmonton, some differences were found to exist in the first and in the last jobs of these women. More women obtained their occupational placement through their male social networks in their last job than in their first job. This is seen as a significant fact in terms of the differences between the occupational status of women of the two communities. More Edmonton East Indian women were found to get slightly higher status and fewer sex specific jobs than

Vancouver women. Male networks appear to be more helpful in securing such employment than female networks.

Hypothesis 3 stated that ethnic networks are more helpful in the actual occupational placement of these women than their non-ethnic social networks.

This hypothesis was overwhelmingly confirmed in the case of first jobs of East Indian women in both communities. In the case of the last job, the hypothesis was not confirmed. In both Vancouver and Edmonton more women get help from their non-ethnic networks in their last job as compared with their first job. However, more Edmonton women obtained their last job through non-ethnic networks than Vancouver women. These findings show that ethnic social networks are most important in the initial stages of the occupational adjustment of these women.

Hypothesis 4 asserted that there will be similarity between the occupational class and category of E.I. women's present job and that of their female social networks present job. This implies ethnic clustering in certain occupations. This hypothesis was not statistically confirmed for any of the seven occupational classes examined above, when they were taken separately. Combining some occupational classes, viz., lower level low prestige occupations in Vancouver, gives good evidence of similarity, but the higher occupational class distribution is dissimilar. The regrouping shows the hypothesis to be true in the cases of sex-specific occupations in occupational class

four (clerical and allied occupations) and occupational classes six and seven (service and blue collar occupations).

Hypothesis 5 asserted that the occupational status of women in the social networks of East Indian women will be positively associated with their occupational commitment.

The findings showed that the hypothesis is confirmed in the case of Vancouver women, i.e., Vancouver women having networks with higher occupational ranks are more likely to be committed to work than women whose female social networks contain women with lower occupational ranks. In fact our data indicated that most women have low occupational commitment and have female social networks with lower occupational status. The hypothesized relationships were not found to exist for the Edmonton sample. The conclusion drawn is that these two variables are significantly, though not very strongly, related only in the case of women from Vancouver.

Hypothesis 6, which aims at assessing the normative functioning of the female social networks of East Indian women, asserts that "The East Indian women, who come in contact with women having higher occupational status, will show more interest in occupational mobility than those who have not".

Testing of this hypothesis showed that the predicted relationship between the two variables was found to be significant only for one category of East Indian women in Vancouver, viz., highly educated upper class recent arrivals, whose husbands approve of their working. Hence the conclusion is drawn that this hypothesis finds

only limited support from this data in the case of Vancouver community.

Hypothesis 7 asserts that jobs found through the female social networks of East Indian women are less frequently stepping stone jobs than the jobs found through their male networks. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that men are in better power positions of job allocation and promotion than women. But this hypothesis is not statistically confirmed for Vancouver women, or for lower class Edmonton women. The hypothesis is confirmed for one category of Edmonton women, viz., upper class women with higher education. For all the other categories of women it is the female social networks that are the sources of all job placements.

Hypothesis 8 states that the mobility (stepping stone vs. "dead end") potential of jobs held by East Indian women is positively associated with the occupational level of their social networks.

The findings of the statistical analysis show that this hypothesis does not find support from our data for any categories of East Indian women in Vancouver or in Edmonton as far as their male social networks are concerned. In the case of female social networks, only for one category, viz., upper class Vancouver women with higher education, is there statistical evidence that the median occupational level of their female social networks is positively related to the mobility potential of their jobs. Hence we conclude that this hypothesis has limited support from only one category of women.

The next section is devoted to a discussion of these findings.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The information presented on the socio-demographic characteristics of the East Indian women and the findings from testing the hypotheses, clearly indicate that a large number of East Indian women who immigrate join pre-existing kin and social networks in Canada. The operation of chain migration for the East Indian women, leads to the establishment of wide-reaching networks in the East Indian community. About half of the women in both communities report that they get help in their job search through their social networks. About 24 percent also state that they have tried to help others and sometimes they have succeeded. Hence we can conclude that for the East Indian women studied, the single most popular and effective source of job information, specially in the initial stages of their adjustment, viz., in their first job, is through interpersonal channels and the "grapevine". This conclusion is broadly applicable to both the Edmonton and Vancouver communities, despite the significant differences discovered in both communities pertaining to the specific dimensions of this process. Thus our general hypothesis that social networks help the immigrant women in their occupational search and adjustment, seems to be confirmed by the data of this study. This has important implications for theory and social policy.

But this is not all there is to say about social network support. This generalization is too broad to be very useful in gaining deeper insight into the intricate functioning of social networks of women. This research deals with East Indian women from different social and educational backgrounds and belonging to dif-

ferent occupational prestige classes. In order to gain a refined understanding of this process within the variations found among East Indian women and variations of social network characteristics, specific hypotheses were drawn. The testing of these hypotheses has, as described above, highlighted some specifics about differential social network functioning. The previous section presented the summary of the findings of the present research. In this section the following aspects of the findings which appear to be particularly significant for the implication for theory and policy, will be discussed.

1. Male networks versus female networks.
2. Long established networks versus recently established networks.
3. Social network support as job specific.
4. Importance of social networks in initial placement.
5. The significance of ethnic networks.
6. Normative effects of social networks.
7. Social networks and life chances of immigrant women.

1. On the evidence presented earlier, we conclude that female social networks are more functional in the occupational placement of the East Indian women than their male networks. This conclusion is not surprising considering the nature of the occupational categories in which most of the East Indian women are found, viz. in stereotypical sex-specific jobs like sewing, kitchen work, nursing, library work, clerical work, etc., about which information travels through female networks. This conclusion points to a hitherto

neglected fact, viz., that women, especially other ethnic women, in an informal way take the responsibility for the occupational integration of immigrant women. Hence they lift some of the burden of immigrant adjustment from governmental and other public agencies.

2. There is also evidence that long established networks, as in Vancouver, are more supportive of women in getting them their jobs than the social networks within a recently established ethnic community such as the Edmonton East Indian community. This is found to be consistently true in the case of lower level blue collar jobs. It follows then that as time goes by and social networks become established for longer durations in Edmonton, more and more of Edmonton East Indian women are likely to find jobs through their social networks.

3. The evidence of this research leads us to conclude that social network support is not only sex-specific, but job specific also. As argued earlier, female networks are specially helpful in the case of lower paid, low prestige jobs. But they are not found to be very helpful in the case of white collar technical jobs for the reasons explained earlier.

4. Our research suggests that social networks are far more helpful in the initial job placement than in the achievement of mobility. Mobility appears to be relatively independent of social network support. This may be because occupational mobility is a function of job performance, years of service, seniority, etc., rather

than of "who you know". Once women get into a job it is likely that they can move to a higher position, if available, on the basis of their own seniority or merit.

5. This research has shown that the ethnic social networks are far more helpful in the East Indian women's initial occupational adjustment than are their non-ethnic social networks, i.e. especially in their first job. Hence we can conclude that the ethnic social networks of these immigrant women have proved essential in their initial occupational adjustment and that would appear to have important implications for certain immigrant settlement policies. Non-ethnic networks however, appear to be more helpful in getting jobs with higher occupational prestige.

6. In terms of the normative functioning of the social network, the research findings show that the social network norms affect only upper class women with a higher educational level and it was true for this class of women only in Vancouver. From this it appears that the normative functioning of the social networks, in the context of the occupational performance of women, may be class specific. Perhaps, as was suggested earlier, women belonging to lower social class are more likely to find themselves forced to work out of financial necessity rather than choice. In that case the social network norms would have relatively less influence than if working was a matter of choice for them.

7. The evidence of this research suggests that the life chances of East Indian immigrant women (independent of their husband's status) are influenced by the social networks they enter. The findings from hypothesis 4 suggest that East Indian immigrant women do get channelled into occupational categories and classes similar to (though not the same as) those of their female networks. This is mainly the case with the lower prestige, low paying occupations. This conclusion points to a very interesting sociological fact. Since many of the friendships of immigrant women, especially in the long established immigrant settlement of Vancouver, are home based, it means that some of their chances are already determined even prior to their arrival in Canada. Our findings then support Anderson's (1974) findings that the jobs obtained by Portugese men are to a large extent pre-determined by similar factor. It may then be concluded that this social fact (social networks) is more important in the immigrant's initial job placement, especially at the lower levels, than other educational or economic factors.

Our general conclusion is that we cannot view the social networks of all East Indian women (or of any other group) as functioning in a uniform way. To fully understand the intricate, complex and varied manner in which different social networks affect different socioeconomic categories of people, it is necessary to analyze them for each of the categories and each of the characteristics of the social network. Time and space does not allow us to undertake that detailed an analysis in this study. We have analyzed only some of the relevant characteristics of social networks for some of the categories of East Indian women and found that even this limited analysis points

to the conclusion stated above. It also points to the need for further research in the case of this group of immigrants as well as other groups.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

The findings we have reviewed have led to one consistent conclusion, viz. that somewhat different processes of economic integration are characteristic of East Indian Women in Edmonton and in Vancouver. There are also marked differences found in the socio-demographic characteristics of the women in these two communities. This can then be taken to mean that, in the context of social networks, we are dealing with two different kinds of populations. As seen earlier, on the whole, in Vancouver the work norms of their social networks, the occupational status of their social networks, as well as simple access of their social networks to job information, is a significant channel for the occupational placement of these women in certain types of jobs, viz. sex specific, low salaried jobs. In Edmonton on the other hand, only two of the hypothesized relationships are found to characterize the population. The occupational search, mobility expectations and achievement of economic success among Edmonton East Indian women appear to be, to a great extent, independent of the specific characteristics of their social networks, although a comparable number do admit to getting informational help from social networks. In view of these findings, how do we interpret this difference, viz. that there are such marked differences between

the two communities in terms of the influence of these women's social networks, on their occupational adjustment?

The answer or answers to this question have to be, at this stage of our knowledge, speculative and hypothetical. Accordingly, the following explanation of these differences in terms of relevant socio-historic-demographic factors is proposed. These factors, though separately discussed, are not independent of each other, but are interrelated. An understanding of these factors is expected to further clarify the applicability of social network theory to understanding the adjustment of immigrants. These factors are:

1. migration history and changes in immigration policies of Canada - resulting in;
2. differences in the duration of East Indian social networks, i.e., long established networks in Vancouver versus recent networks in Edmonton which may have different structural properties; and in
3. differences in the socio-economic and educational level of the East Indian women in the two communities.

MIGRATION FACTORS AND CHANGES IN THE IMMIGRATION POLICIES OF CANADA

As seen earlier, the differences between the two communities can in part be attributed to the vicissitudes of the immigration policy of Canada over the last 80 years. We shall briefly recapitulate them in order to bring out their connection with the arrival

and settlement of different kinds of East Indian immigrants in Vancouver and Edmonton, resulting in differences in the functioning of the social networks of the two communities.

As described earlier, the East Indian migration began in British Columbia around the turn of the century and consisted largely of peasantry from the villages of Punjab in Northern India. Their further migration was stopped in 1907 because of protests from local populations. Later, in 1917, family migration was allowed which meant that only sponsored persons could enter Canada. During this period the majority settled in and around Vancouver. This policy continued till after World War II, when a number of changes occurred in Canada's immigration policy as a result of a general restructuring of Canadian economy. The new policies were geared to manpower needs and this encouraged a much larger proportion of immigrants having professional and technical occupational specialities to enter Canada who have now settled in other metropolitan cities of Canada.

These differences continued to be perpetuated by the sponsorship scheme. As the sponsored relatives or friends are likely to be in a socio-economic category similar to that of the sponsorer, the social class composition of the immigrants in a place is likely to continue. Thus we conclude that the migration history of the East Indian communities and the immigration policies of Canada resulted in two particular kinds of differences between the two communities of Vancouver and Edmonton, which are seen as relevant for our problem.

1. Vancouver was the an area of early settlement and it resulted in long established networks, whereas East

Indians came to Edmonton much more recently with very recently established networks.

2. The two communities accordingly differed markedly in their social class, educational and occupational composition of the present immigrants.

We shall discuss each of these results in turn.

THE DURATION OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

As the East Indian immigrants first came to Canada around 1899 and settled on the Pacific Coast in British Columbia, the Vancouver East Indian colony is the longest established East Indian colony of Canada. East Indians settled in Edmonton in appreciable numbers at a much later date, between the late fifties to early seventies. Hence networks here were recently established. Some of the differences in our findings for these two communities may be understood in terms of differences in the characteristics and functions of long established or recently established networks.

1. In a community with long established networks and large enough numbers of people, norms develop and those norms will have a binding, even coercive effect on the members within social networks. These might be positive or negative norms regarding women and work, i.e. in respect to whether they would work, aspire for job mobility or not and the conditions under which they might work. This normative

aspect of social network might well differ from one socio-economic class to another and affect those it embraces.

2. As social networks become established among large numbers of immigrants they sort themselves out in different socio-economic strata which may not be the case with recent established networks in smaller ethnic communities. Thus in Vancouver, the social networks of the upper class women would contain people from the upper class and those of the lower class women would be from the lower class. Over time these strata would crystallize and social mobility might be difficult to achieve. Social networks of upper class women would be more likely to have access to information concerning higher paying jobs into which they could channel their women friends than the lower class social networks.

On the other hand, in a recently established immigrant settlement, members may be able to find few others of their own status. Unable to preserve their cultural and linguistic or religious exclusiveness, they may have contacts with people from lower or higher groups outside the their own socio-economic class which normally would not happen in their homeland. Thus rigid status groups or rigid socio-economic strata would not exist in small, recently established immigrant communities. Here, all kinds of people might ask for assistance, giving it and receiving it from people of different strata and the hypothesized relationship between the status of social networks and the occupational integration of these women would not emerge, nor would there be any strong norms and sanctions which would be class specific.

This explains why our findings show that long established social networks are positively related to the occupational adjustment of women in the sample and have a marked normative influence on their members, and why the specific characteristics of social networks affect specific aspects of their occupational placement and mobility. It also explains why in recently established networks, no such relationship, on the whole, emerges.

Duration of social networks explains only part of the differences in the instrumental aspect of such networks. Other salient differences are also found in the two communities which might help to account for these observed differences, for example, in socio-economic and educational characteristics between older and more recent immigrants which are discussed in the following section.

DIFFERENCES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES

It is worth noting that very marked differences are found in the demographic characteristics of the East Indian women in the two communities. They differ in their social class background, educational level and occupational level. On the whole, our data show that, as compared with Vancouver sample, the majority of Edmonton sample women (a) come from higher socio-economic urban backgrounds, (b) are better educated, (c) have better educated and occupationally better placed husbands, and (d) are themselves in relatively higher occupational prestige classes. This group of women, our findings

show, do get a kind of assistance from their network-information but beyond this general help, no further specific relationships are discoverable between the specific characteristics of their network and the various dimensions of their occupational adjustment. On the other hand, significant relationships are found in the case of Vancouver sample women who are less educated, come from lower socio-economic rural backgrounds with less educated and less well placed husbands than the Edmonton women.

These observed differences between the two groups of women and the fact that the hypothesized relationships exist for one but not for the other community, suggest that probably social network support is itself a function of certain kind of social networks having specific types of educational and socio-economic class backgrounds for specific types of jobs. This statement can be elaborated as follows. On the basis of our findings, we can say that social networks are specifically helpful in the predicted manner, for the lower socio-economic and less well educated women. Such women most often get low prestige, sex-specific jobs where not only information but recommendation counts and no specific qualifications and training are required. Examples of such jobs would be work in the garment industry, packing, canning, and other low level service occupations. Thus the presence or absence of the specific relationships between social networks and occupational placement in the two communities can <u>in part</u> be explained in terms of higher or lower educational and socio-economic level and occupational status of the two groups. The relationship exists for the lower strata, in which case "whom you know" (whether you know a relative or friend working in the same place, or a supervisor or the

boss), appears to be more important than "what you know". But for the educated, professional group of women who are likely to seek jobs requiring specific training, their qualifications would be equally or more important than "who you know". This interpretation gets some support from the evidence of literature on the subject. Most of the studies examined in Chapter III, are either of the blue collar workers and domestics, or of people in very high positions like directors and managers, etc. It suggests then, and it is only a very tentative suggestion, that social networks are not as helpful for the middle level occupations which require some technical training and thus social network theory has limited and circumstantial application. But much more research is required to substantiate such a suggestion.

An examination of these three factors combined with the findings from this research lead to a number of policy implications which are listed below.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Boyd (1977) states that the contributions of the immigrant women to Canadian economy are underestimated partly because they are under-represented in the immigrant workers statistics and their "work" contributions are not acknowledged and known. This research has discovered another aspect of the contributions of at least one group of immigrant women, viz. East Indian immigrant women to the Canadian economy which is also little known. They make an important contribution by helping other newly arrived immigrant women from their

homelands, in their occupational adjustment to Canada. The fact that the majority of East Indian women who get their jobs through personal contacts, are helped by their female networks cuts across class lines and educational category lines. For Vancouver women, these contacts also help in mobility. Other research may show this to be true of other immigrant women as well.

In terms of how differential effectiveness of social network contacts affects the occupational placement of different categories of women, these contacts were found to be especially helpful, among women of lower socio-economic background and lower educational background. This fact is especially significant, considering the emphasis that the immigration policy places on education and training. Women with lower educational background and with language difficulty, often stated that had they not received information or recommendation from their relatives/friends, they could never have found employment. Such women would have taken a much longer route and time to get jobs but for their social networks. Anderson (1974) came to similar conclusion for Portugese blue collar, male workers. While women with a relatively higher level of education and training would probably know where to look for work and of whom to inquire, women with lower education attainments and language problems find their social networks are their main channel of occupational placement.

Our conclusion is that the female social networks of East Indian immigrant women, by helping them in their occupational adjustment, make an important contribution to Canadian economy. We believe that this potential resource for immigrants' occupational integration should be fully encouraged and facilitated. This suggestion has wider

implications not only for East Indian women, but also for immigrant settlement and immigrant women in general.

1. In terms of general settlement policy with respect to newly arriving immigrants, this comparative study of the two samples has shown that immigrant women who settle in a community of established fellow immigrants, have a definite advantage as far as occupational search and placement are concerned. It follows that as a matter of immigrant settlement policy it is important that procedures should be established which would encourage and help new immigrants settle in areas where they could have the benefit of help and advice of their fellow countrymen.

The immigration policy of Canada does contain categories of sponsorship and financial guarantees. But these are formal arrangements. In addition, there are other formal agencies which offer the immigrants useful information and help during this early period of settlement. But this research and other studies have shown that people have less faith in formal agencies and therefore they can be inconsequential. Informal structural arrangements appear to be utilized far more frequently because they are perceived as more reliable, accessible and inexpensive than formal arrangements.

From this socio-psychological factor, certain important policy implications follow which become the central theme of the recommendations of this study.

We recommend that close liaison and cooperation should be promoted between the formal structures (governmental agencies, Manpower Departments, voluntary settlement services, etc.) and

informal social groupings (social networks in ethnic communities) which act as information and aid channels for the immigrants. This is especially pertinent because the informal ethnic channels or networks already exist and are utilized by a large number of immigrants as this and other studies have shown. But they lack the advantage of accurate and wide knowledge regarding opportunities, programs and facilities e.g. job vacancies, training programs and upgrading facilities. On the other hand, specialized formal agencies are little known and/or little trusted by the new immigrants. Typically they learn to get by through trial and error methods.

We would recommend that government agencies like the Canada Manpower and Immigration offices and other formal settlement organizations and voluntary services, seek ways of encouraging and enabling local ethnic communities to better integrate their newly arrived fellow countrymen and women into their local ethnic communities.

There are several ways in which this could be accomplished: by providing special directories of all local ethnic community organizations to the newly arrived immigrants and by providing local community organizations with lists of new arrivals, for example. Such procedures are likely to enable the new immigrant to reach and seek help from local ethnic organizations. Thus paradoxically, this research study recommends that to some extent the informal social arrangements for information and help should be formally aided, by providing comprehensive information on immigrant arrivals to key ethnic organizations and key persons which could act as liaison persons. This would help immigrants to better utilize the existing informal channels of information and help.

2. As to the special case of women, this research establishes that the E.I. women who are in the labour force gain entry mostly through their female social networks rather than other channels. Their employment helps their families settle in their new homeland. One important reason given by women for taking up work is to help their husbands in mortgage payments. In addition, they reported, that it provides them a social outlet, a sense of self-worth and some degree of work satisfaction. It also helps to combat feelings of loneliness and homesickness. Hence their work force involvement is important to the adjustment of themselves and their families for economic and socio-psychological reasons. It is therefore important that all facilities should be extended to them in terms of information, encouragement and opportunity to obtain work. The goal can best be achieved through the same kind of cooperation between formal agencies and informal social groupings as was recommended for immigrants in general. Yet the case of an immigrant working woman is different from that of an immigrant man and as this is a study of women, our particular concern is with special policy recommendations for women.

While almost all men have paid employment in all societies, this is not true of women. Many immigrant women come from countries where they have never had wage employment. Once in Canada they find that economic pressures and the experience of social isolation often tend to push them into employments for which they are little prepared either because they have no training or their education and training are not relevant for the Canadian labour market. This fact often pushes women with university degrees into low prestige occupations and

leads to feelings of status inconsistency, frustration and shame. Hence there is need to help them get special adequate orientation to work opportunities and job prerequisites and employer's job expectations. For this purpose the following measures are suggested.

Canada Manpower and Immigration Departments can work through the channel of social networks of ethnic communities in terms of providing special employment orientation to women under the sponsorship of ethnic organizations. These meetings or seminars should resemble social gatherings which can develop into formal meetings. The issues or topics to be considered, informally, could have both informational as well as attitudinal implications. The information to be communicated should include:

1. Varieties of jobs available, especially in the area of feminine occupations. Although there is a general trend in Canada towards sex-desegregation in employment, this research shows that the majority of women interviewed were channelled into female dominated occupations and this aspect has a definite practical relevance for the situation of immigrant women seeking employment.
2. Job opportunity - places where work is available. This especially refers to ethnic businesses and organizations or other opportunities where fluency in English is not required. Again, the issue of ethnic-desegregation is implicated but due to the language problem, information about jobs in ethnic concerns is particularly important in the initial stages of settlement.

3. Training and upgrading programmes available at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology or similar schools. Information about such programmes, which many women lack, would be most useful as not many women would think of seeking it from formal agencies. This should include courses available, length of courses, openings available, etc.

4. Information on the importance and nature of the first jobs held (that is, stepping stone versus dead end jobs), should be provided. This is crucial to the question of future occupational mobility. Many women never consider this aspect till others in their female networks make them aware of this issue. Later it leads to frustration or envy, if an ambitious woman finds her path to mobility blocked.

5. Information on the community resources which are available for coping with the problem of babysitting and other domestic problems, should be provided.

6. Special attention should be paid to identifying work related problems and resources available to help with their solution.

7. Many jobs, especially the so-called feminine jobs, do not come to the notice of Canada Manpower at all. Information about these travels primarily through female networks and often female ethnic networks. It is strongly recommended that Canada Manpower should offer help, finances and advice to the local ethnic

communities to set up job information clearing houses where information about such jobs could be pooled.

In terms of attitudinal orientation, the "seminars" could address issues relating to the need, importance and problems in women's employment. They could invite opinions and stimulate discussion thus identifying the attitudinal barriers towards women's employment which exist in some ethnic communities.

For this purpose, Canada Manpower should contact ethnic women's organizations and other women in key positions in the community, provide them with necessary information and request them to act as informal liaison-like agents of the Department in their social networks of contact. They would then be able to channel new immigrant women into appropriate jobs and/or training programmes informally, but equipped with definite knowledge concerning job and training opportunities. Through such a marriage of the formal and informal social structures already existing in Canadian society, the hitherto neglected goal of occupational integration of immigrant women can be satisfactorily achieved.

THE THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Merton (1957) in his chapter "The Bearing of Empirical Research on Theory", states that,

> "Empirical research goes far beyond the passive role of verifying and testing a theory...Research plays an active role: it performs at least four major functions which help shape the development of a theory. It initiates, it reformulates, it deflects and it clarifies a theory." (1957 p. 103)

The present empirical study performs the second, third and the fourth of these functions, in addition to testing a number of hypotheses, thereby helping to specify the range of the theory from which they were derived.

1. To begin with the last of these four, Merton states: "A good part of the work called theorizing is taken up with the clarification of the concepts — and rightly so." (p. 114). This is one of the tasks which this research has attempted to accomplish. Its main theme, viz. - social networks - refers only to a concept, not to a theory; to date no social network theory has been developed. A concept is a sociological tool which helps the sociologist to build a theoretical model of social reality, "social network" is a broad, diffuse concept which required clarification and specification.

The indicators of "social network" were used to determine which empirical phenomena were entities to be included and which were to be excluded from its conceptual boundaries, thus refining and sharpening the concept itself. Part of this clarification has been undertaken in the section on the operationalizations of the concepts.

2. In respect to reformulating theory, in the chapter dealing with the choice of theoretical framework we developed a tentative structure of social network theory. This theory had certain promises to fulfill in order to have validity of application to empirical data, which were eventually to provide the basis for confirmation or refutation of the theory. This theoretical structure was developed to meet certain criteria. These criteria specified that it must form a set of logically interrelated propositions asserting relationships among concepts; it must be capable of explaining diverse phenomena under a general social law; it must be capable of being confirmed or refuted by relevant facts; and it must possess predictive power.

For the present study, this theoretical structure made it possible to make certain predictive statements about specific relationships in the empirical world. Statements were drawn in the form of hypotheses (deduced from the theory) asserting relationships between the social networks of East Indian immigrant women and their occupational integration into the Canadian economy. To be precise, the general hypothesis stated that the social networks of the East Indian immigrant women to Canada and of their husbands are the most important channels of their occupational integration and mobility in the Canadian economy. This hypothesis was then elaborated in a series of specific sub-hypotheses each asserting one aspect of this general relationship, which were subjected to empirical tests. The expectation was that if these relationships were found to be true, this would constitute some confirmation of the general proposition. This predicted that informal social structures intervene between the formal

structures and institutions and the individual and help the latter to achieve his goal.

In the testing of these hypotheses, the data revealed certain specific and unusual facets of the relationship between the functioning of the social networks of East Indian women and their occupational integration which appear to have important implications for social network theory. Hence the following theoretical comments can be made on the basis of our findings.

1. As the first broad important finding our research confirms the hypothesis asserting the relationship between two the variables, the social networks of the East Indian women and their occupational integration in Canada. The confirmation of this hypothesis lends some support to the theory which had formed the ground for asserting the hypothesized relationship. We can say that social networks of the East Indian women are helpful in their occupational integration in Canada, probably because, in general in social life, informal social structures mediate between the individual and formal structures, and help him achieve his goal.

Merton notes that:

> "Empirical research invites the extension of a theory by bringing about hitherto neglected but relevant facts which press for extension of the conceptual scheme." (1957:108)

Our specific findings help us determine the range of this social network theory, both (a) in terms of its extension to hitherto unexplored empirical fields, and (b) in terms of its applicability or inapplicability to certain social situations. To take up the first:

(a) There has been some research on the social networks and occupational placement of men workers or occasionally of both sexes working in a particular place. However, we are aware of no research on women organized in terms of this theoretical framework; nor has any work been done on the functioning of female social networks. This particular study has extended the application of this theory to female social networks with their own specific characteristics. The scope of this theory is now shown to include such diverse aspects as the influence of female social networks in their functional as well as their normative aspects on the occupational adjustment and on the work motivation and work aspirations of East Indian women. This is the only full length study of the social network support of a group of immigrant women which has presented evidence in support of social network theory. No doubt, this work needs to be supplemented by further research on other groups of women (and men) in order to judge to what extent the findings of this study are peculiar to East Indian immigrant women and to what extent they can be considered an aspect of the human condition. But even this limited study has extended the scope of this theory to a new field;

(b) Having pointed out the applicability of this theory to the case of social networks of East Indian women in general, we note that there are some special findings of this research about the characteristics of social networks which refine the theory itself.

Stated very briefly, these findings show that it was mostly female ethnic networks that were found helpful in the case of East Indian women. Moreover, those women who were in low paid, sex specific, blue collar or service occupations found greater social network

support than those who were in slightly more technical and more white collar non sex-specific occupations. It was also discovered that these women obtained motivational and informational help from networks in their job search, particularly in their initial placement but not much in their further occupational mobility. From some of these findings it has been concluded earlier that probably social network support is sex-specific as well as job-specific.

All these findings from this research have important implications when we consider the application of this theory to the specifics of the wider social world in the following sense. This research helps to specify the range of applicability of this theory, for certain categories and types of occupations and persons. It suggests that there are limits to the application of this theory as far as all types and categories of occupations or economic quests are concerned. The nature of these limitations raises broader theoretical issues involved in the theme of this research which we shall discuss very briefly.

In terms of actual application, social network theory seems to explain the cases of occupational placement, in low paid, low prestige unskilled occupations better than in the occupations which require some technical expertise, though in terms of normative influence this is not the case. Our survey of the literature showed that most of the research studies reviewed demonstrated the functional importance of social networks in low paid low prestige occupations. There are some studies of high status occupations like managers, professionals, etc., but there is little literature on middle level occupations which require some technical training. It may be that in general, social networks are more helpful at the level of lower un-

skilled occupations where no specific training is required or at the top level where positions are so privileged that they are given only to the privileged persons on a personal basis. If so, this suggests that at both levels "who you know" counts as much, if not more, than "what you know". But according to our research, in relatively more technical types of occupations at the middle occupational level, "what you know" appears as much, or more, important than "who you know". It may be the case then, that occupational success at these two different levels takes different routes.

These considerations, together with our findings, raise a broader issue involved in the theme of social network, viz. the question of the influence of universalism versus particularism, of education versus contacts and of "what you know" versus "whom you know" in the occupational sphere. These are theoretical issues where there is some evidence supporting both sides. In the remaining space of this section, we shall outline briefly the arguments on either side and try to show which of these two theoretical positions our research appear to favour.

It has often been argued that in modern industrial society, too much emphasis is placed on education and training since such technical jobs require trained manpower. Anderson (1974) in her study of Portuguese immigrants in Toronto, established that "whom you know" is more important than "what you know". This is also the finding of our study for lower level occupations among our sample members. These findings have important theoretical implications in terms of relative importance of ability and training versus having appropriate contacts. The bias in North American society tends to emphasize education and

training. But from these researches, it appears that this aspect of occupational integration is vastly over-emphasized, at least for certain kinds of jobs. This seems particularly true in the context of immigration policies. Many of the studies of lower level occupations show that immigrant workers find jobs through their contacts where educational differences are found to have little role to play. For such occupations, particularism appears to prevail. Hence it is concluded that social network theory has definite, though limited, application in explaining the success of persons in achieving economic integration in a new society.

On the other hand, it could be argued that as society gradually becomes more technocratic and meritocratic, particularism will gradually disappear. By the very nature of industrial and professional requirements, qualification will be seen as more important than recommendations and necessarily universalism will prevale. No doubt the problem of choice between two or more equally qualified people for the same job will remain. To the extent that particularism counts in human terms, this may remain, i.e. to narrow the range of choice some personal channel may be helpful. But the proportion would be much less than at present and interpersonal channels may not remain the most effective channels of job hunting, particularly among certain occupational groups.

There is a related question of increase of automation and decrease in the need of manpower. This would mean that: (1) there may be many more people and fewer jobs, and (2) society may have to make some changes in norms defining work and non-work (holiday) periods for workers, or a three day week, or some other plan. The present thesis

is not directly concerned with this question, but the few jobs needing technical expertise will probably go to the best qualified not the "friend of a friend" and thus, it is argued that there are indications that particularism will almost disappear. On the other hand, given an abundance of adequately and generally comparably trained candidates for a position, there might be an increased need for particularism.

Our research clearly shows that at present this is not the case. It has shown that social networks do successfully intervene between the individual and impersonal structures but only under certain conditions. Based on this evidence, we can conclude our discussion with two theoretical comments:

1. Social network analysis is to be viewed as a sociological nexus between macroscopic (large scale organizational structures) and microscopic (primary ties among individuals) levels of sociological analysis.

2. Social network theory, like many other sociological theories, can, in the light of our findings, be tentatively viewed as a middle range theory which succeeds in explaining certain types of social processes but not others. Far more research is needed to substantiate this claim, but the present study provides some indications of the direction in which the future research ought to proceed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACKER, J. "Women and Social Stratification". American Journal of Sociology 78: 936-45, 1973.

ALLPORT, GORDON. The Nature of Prejudice. Doubleday Anchor Books. New York, 1954.

ALTMAN, STUART HAROLD. Factors Affecting the Employment of the Married Women: A Study of the Dynamics of Labour Force Behaviour of Secondary Family Workers. Los Angeles, 1964.

AMES, MICHAEL M. AND JOY INGLIS. Indian Immigrants in Canada. Indo-Canadian, 1968.
Conflict and Change in British Columbia. Sikh Family Life. B.C. Studies. 1973 - 1974.

ANDERSON, GRACE M. Networks of Contact, The Portugese in Toronto. Wilfrid Laurier. University, Waterloo, Ontario, 1974.

ANGUS, H.F. Asiatics in Canada. Pacific Affairs. 19(4): 506-516 H., 1946.
East Indians in Canada. International Journal 2(10: 47-50 HM, 1947.

ARONSON, DAN R. "Editor's Preface". The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, special issue: Social Networks (Nov. 1970).

ASHWORTH, MARY. Immigrant Children and Canadian Schools. McClelland and Stewart Ltd. Toronto, 1975.

AURORA, GURDIP SINGH. Indian Workers in England. A Socio-Historical Survey of Indian Workers in England. M.S.C. Dissertation, Economics, London University, London, 1960.

BABBIE, EARL R. Survey Research Methods. University of Hawaii. Wadsworth Publishing Co. Inc. Belmont, California (1973) 1977.

BAGAI, LEONA B. The East Indians and Pakistanis in America. Lerner Publishing Co. Minneapolis, 1967.

BAINS, NINA. A Brief Study of the East Indian (Sikh) Community of Victoria. Victoria: mimeo, 1974.

BAKER, ELIZABETH. Technology and Women's Work. Columbia University Press. New York, 1964.

BALDWIN, GEORGE E. "Tulamusa - A Study of Places of Public Employment Services." Industrial and Labor Relations Review. Vol. 4: 509-526. July, 1951.

BANNERJEE, KALYAN KUMAR. "East Indian Immigration into America: Beginning of Indian Revolutionary Activity." Modern Review. 116: 355-376 H.M., 1964.

BARNES, J.A. "Class and Commitmeent in Norwegian Island Parish." Human Relations. vi 39-58, 1962.
Networks and Political Process in Social Networks in Urban Situations. Ed. by J. Clyde Mitchell. Manchester University Press. Manchester, 1969.

BARTH, FREDRICK. Models of Social Organization. Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper: 23. Royal Anthropological Institute. London, 1966.

BASRAN, GURCHARAN S. University Research on East Indian Canadians. A Preliminary Checklist. Canadian Ethnic Studies. 1976.

BETTLEHEIM, BRUNO AND JANOWITZ, MORRIS. Dynamics of Prejudice. Harper and Row. New York, 1950.
Social Change and Prejudice. Free Press. New York, 1964.

BHATTI, F.M. East Indian Immigration into Canada 1905 - 1973. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Surrey, 1974.

BLALOCK, JR. HUBERT M. Toward a Theory of Minority - Group Relationships. Wiley and Sons. New York, 1967.

BLISHEN, BERNARD R. Asocio Economic Index for Occupations in Canada in Canadian Society, Sociological Perspectives. Ed. Blishen, Bernard R., Frank E. Jones, K.D. Naegele, John Porter. MacMillan of Canada. Toronto 741-753, 1964.

BOGUE, DONALD JOESEPH, Principles of Demography, Wiley & Sons, New York, 1969.

BOISSEVAIN, J. "Friends of Friends Network." Manipulators and Coalitions. Oxford University Press Oxford, 1974.

BOORMAN, SCOTT A. AND PAUL R. LEVITT. A Frequency - Dependent Natural Selection Model for the Evolution of Social Networks. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences: 70, 1973.

BRADFIELD, HELEN H. The East Indians of Yuba City: A Study of Acculturation, M.A. Dissertation - California State University. Sacramento, 1970.

BRADWICK, J.M. AND E. DOUVAN. "Ambivalence: The Socialization of Women." Women in Sexist Society. Ed. V. Gonick and B.K. Moran. Basic Books. New York, 1971.

BRETON, RAYMOND. "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and Personal Relations of Immigrants" in Canadian Society: Sociological Perspective. Ed. Bernard Blishen et al 3rd Ed. MacMillan. Toronto, 1964.

BROAD, ISABELLE ROSS. An Appeal for Fair Play for the Sikhs in Canada. Victoria Society of Friends of the Hindus. Victoria, 1913.

BROADBENT, D. Perception and Communication. Pergamon, London, 1958.

BROWN, DAVID G. The Market for College Teachers. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1965(a).
Academic Labor Markets. Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U.S. Department of Labor. Washington, D.C., 1965(b).
The Mobile Professors. American Council of Education. Washington, D.C., 1967.

BOSE, ARUN COOMAR. Indian Nationalist Agitation in the United States and Canada till the Arrival of Hardayal in 1911. Journal of Indian Revolutionaries Abroad 1905 - 1922. Bharati Bhavan Patna, 1971.

BOTT, E. "Urban Families: Conjugal Roles and Social Networks." Human Relations. viii: 345-85, 1955.
"Urban Families: The Norms of Conjugal Roles." Human Relations: 325-41, 1956.
Family and Social Networks. Tavistock Publications. London, 1957.
"Family Kinship and Marriage" in Man in Society: Pattern of Human Organization. Ed. Douglas, Mary et al. McDonald, London, 1967.

BOSSEN, MARIANNE. The Pattern of Manpower Utilization in Canadian Department Stores, Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, No. 3. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1971.

BOYD, MONICA. "The Status of Immigrant Women," in Women in Canada. (Ed.) Maylee Stephenson. General Publishing Co. Ltd. Don Mills, Ontario, 228-244, 1977.

CAIN, GLEN GEORGE. Married Women in Labour Force, An Economic Analysis. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1966.

CALDAROLA, CARLO AND G.S. PAUL. "Voting in Edmonton" in Society and Politics in Alberta. Edited by Carlo Caldarola. Methuen Publications, pp. 322-355, 1979.

CANADA, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. Women at Work in Canada. Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1964.

CANADA, DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER AND IMMIGRATION. Immigration, Migration and Ethnic Groups in Canada. A Bibliography of Research 1964 - 1968. Information Canada. B. Ottawa, 1970.

CANADA, WOMEN'S BUREAU. Report of a Consultation on the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities, held Feb. 17, 1965.

CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES. Bulletin of the Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies. University of Calgary, 1978.

CAPLOW, THEODORE AND R. MCGEE. The Academic Market Place. Basic Books. New York, 1958.

CARTWRIGHT, D. AND A. ZANDER (ED.). Group Dynamics Research and Theory (2nd Edition). Row Peterson. Evanston, Ill., 1960.

CHANDRA, KANAUR, V. Racial Discrimation in Canada: Asian Minorities. R. & E. Research Associates. San Francisco, 1973.

CHANDRA, RAM. Exclusion of Hindus from America due to British Influence. Ghadr Publication Co. San Francisco, 1961.

CHRISMAN, N. "Situation and Social Network" in Cities. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 7. 1970.

COLE, J. West Indian Teachers and Nurses in Ontario, Canada. A Study of Migration Pattern. MA Thesis. McMaster University, 1967.

COLEMAN, JAMES S. ELIHU KATZ AND H. MENZEL. The Diffusion of Innovation Among Physicians. Sociometry 20: 253-270, 1957.

COOLEY, C.H. Social Organization. Charles Scribners & Sons: 1909.

CORBETT, DAVID C. Canada's Immigration Policy. A Critique. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, 1957.

DANIELS, ROGER. American Historians and East Indian Immigrants. Pacific Historical Review. 1974.

DAS, RAJNI KANT. Hindustanee Workers on the Pacific Coast. Walter de Gruyter-S11 Berlin, 1923.

DAVIS, JAMES A. AND S. LEINHARDT. "The structure of positive Interpersonal Relations in Small Groups" in Sociological Theories in Progress, Vol. 2. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1972.

DAVIS, MORRIS AND JOSEPH F. KAUTER. The Other Canadians. Profiles of Six Minorities. Methuen Publications. Agincourt, Ontario, 1971.

DECORE, ANNE MARIE. Women and Work. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Alberta, 1976.

DEOL, G.S. Voyage of the Komagata Maru and Ghadr Movement. People's Path 2(S) - 1966.
The Role of the Ghadr Party in the Indian National Movement. Sterling Publishers. Jullundur, 1969.

DE SCHWENETZ, DOROTHEA. How Workers Find Jobs. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philedelphia, 1932.

D'SOUZA, VICTOR S. Social Grading of Occupations of India. Sociological Review. July, 1962.

LORD DURHAM. The Report of the Earl of Deurham, January: 1839 (reprinted London: 1930). pp. 215-18.

EDELMAN, MURRAY ET AL. Channels of Employment: Influence on the Operation of Public Employment Offices and Other Hiring Channels in the Local Job Market. Institute of Labour and Industrial Relations. Urbana III, 1952.

EISENSTADT, S.N. The Absorption of Immigrants: A Comparative Study Based Mainly on the Jewish Community in Palestine and the State of Israel. Routledge and Paul. London, 1954.

EPSTEIN, A.L. "The Networks and Urban Social Organization" in Social Networks in Urban Stiuations. Ed. by J. Clyde Mitchell. Manchester University Press. Manchester, 1969.

EPSTEIN, CYNTHIA FUCHS. Woman's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers. University of California Press. Berkeley, 1970.

FERGUSON, TED. A White Man's Country: An Exercise in Canadian Prejudice. 1975

FESTINGER, L. The Analysis of Sociograms Using Matrix Algebra. Human Relations. 1949.

FESTINGER, L., S. SCHACLER AND K. BACK. Social Pressures in Informal Groups. Harper and Row. New York, 1950.

FIRTH, R. Social Organization and Social Change. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 1954.

FOGARTY, MICHEL P., RHONA RAPAPORT AND ROBERT N. RAPAPORT. Sex, Career and Family. Allen and Unwin. London, 1971.

FORTES, MEYER. The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi. Oxford University Press. Oxford, 1949.
"Introduction" pp. 1-14 in The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups. (Ed.) Jack Goody. The Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1958.

FRANKENBERG, R.J. Communities in Britain: Social Life in Town and Country. Haxmondsworth, Penguire Books, 1966.

FRAZIER, E.F. Race Relations in World Perspective. Sociology and Sociological Research 41, May - June, 1957.

FRIEDES, JAMES S. "Discrimination in Western Canada." Race. XV 2, 1973.

GARDNER, RAY. When Vancouver Turned Its Back on the Sikhs. Macleans. (November 8th) 1958.

GAVAKI, EFROSINI. The Integration of Greeks in Canada. R & E Research Associates. San Francisco, 1977.

GEOFFROY, RENEE AND PAUL ST. MARIE. Attitudes of Union Workers to Women in Industry. Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, No. 9. Queen's Printer. Ottawa, 1971.

GHOSH, S.N. Deportation of Hindu Politicals. Dial 67: 145-147. 1919.

GLUCKMAN, M. "Analysis of Social Situation in Modern Zululand". Rhodes - Livingston Paper No. 28. 1960.
"Gossip and Scandal". Current Anthropology iv: 307-16, 1963.

GOLD, SONIA. "The Professional Commitment of Educated Women." Values and the Future. The Free Press. New York, 1969.

GOODENOUGH, WARD H. Property, Kin and Community on Truk. Yale University. Publications in Anthropology No. 46. Yale University Press. New Haven, 1951.
Residence Rules. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. 1956.
Rethinking Status and Role. The Relevence of Models in Social Anthropology. London, 1964.

GORDON, MILTON M. Assimilation in American Life. Oxford University Press. New York, 1964.

GRANOVETTR, MARK S. "The Strength of Weak Ties." American Journal of Sociology. 78 May. 1360-1380. 1973.
Getting a Job. A Study of Contacts and Careers, Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass., 1974.

HAMEED, S.M.A. "Employment Discrimination Against Third World Immigrants" in Multiculturalism and Third World Immigrants. Eds. G.S. Paul and S.M.A. Hameed. University of Alberta Press, Edmonton (Forthcoming).

HARDWICK, FRANCIS C. (ED). From Beyond the Western Horizons; Canadians from the Sub-Continent of India. Tantalus Research. Vancouver, 1974.

HARRIES-JONES, P. Marital Disputes and the Process of Conciliation in a Copperbelt Town. Rhodes-Livingstone Journal. 1964.

HARRIES-JONES, P. "'Home Boy' Ties and Political Organization in a Copperbelt Township" in Social Networks in Urban Situations. Ed. by J. Clyde Mitchell. Manchester University Press. Manchester, 1969.

HARVEY, EDWARD B. Education and Employment of Arts and Sciences Graduates: The Last Decade in Ontario. "A report submitted to the Commission on Post-Secondary Education on Ontario." Queen's Printers. Toronto, 1972.

HAWKINS, FREDA. Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern. (Montreal and London.) McGill - Queen's University Press. 1972.

HENDIN, ELMER L. "Hindu Americans" in Our Racial and National Minorities. Ed. by Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roncek. Prentice Hall, New York, 1965.

HENRY, F. The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada. Social and Economic Studies 17 (1): 83-91. 1968.

HESS, GARY RAY. "The 'Hindu' in America: Immigration and Naturalization Policies and India 1917-46." Pacific Historical Review 38(1): 59-79. 1969.
"The Forgotten Asian Americans. The East Indian Community in the United States." Pacific Historical Review. 1974.

HILL, JOSEPH A. Women in Gainful Occupations, 1880 - 1920. Johnson Reprint Corporation. London, 1972 (Orig. 1929).

HOBART, CHARLES W. Italian Immigrants in Edmonton: Adjustment and Integration. Research Report Prepared for The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism n.d. 2w. 1966.
Persistence and Change: A Study of Ukrainians in Alberta. Prepared with W.E. Kalbach, J. Borbek and A.P. Tacoley. Canadian Centennial Series 1965.

HOLLAND, SIR ROBERT. Indian Immigration in Canada: The Question of Franchise. Asiatic Review. 1943.

HOLLINGSHEAD, A.B. AND F.C. REDLICK. Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study. John Wiley and Sons Inc. New York, 1958.

HOLT, CHARLES C. AND MARTIN H. DAVID. "The Concept of Job Vacancies in a Dynamic Theory of the Labour Market" in Measurement and Interpretation of Job Vancancies. Ed. by Robert Ferber, Columbia University Press. New York, 1966.

HORNA, JARMILA L.A. "Women in East European Socialist Countries" in The Working Sexes. Edited by Patricia Marchak. Inst. of Industrial Relations. University of B.C. Vancouver, 1976.

HORNER, M.S. "Femininity and Successful Achievement. A Basic Inconsistency" in Feminine Personality and Conflict. Ed. J.M. Bradwick et al. Wadsworth. Belmont, California, 1970.

HUGHES, E.C. AND HELEN M. HUGHES. Racial and Ethnic Frontiers. The Free Press: Gleneo, Ill., 1952.

HUGHES, DAVID R. AND EVELYN KALLEN. The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions, Harvest House. Montreal, 1974.

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA. Facts Sheet Info/9. Department of Manpower and Immigration Information Service. Ottawa. Feb., 1969.

INDRA, DOREEN M. Changes in Canadian Immigration Pattern Over the Past Decade with Special Reference to Asia. Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Simon Fraser University. Unpublished Paper, 1977.

JAIN, SUSHIL KUMAR. East Indians in Canada. Klopf. The Hague, 1971.

JENCKS, CHRISTOPHER ET AL. Inequality. Basic Books. New York, 1972.

JENSEN, VERNON H. The Hiring of Dock Workers. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass., 1964.

JOHNSON, ALLAN G. Social Statistics Without Tears. McGraw Hill. New York, 1977.

JOHNSON, LUKIN. The Case of Orientals in B.C. The Canadian Magazine 57: 315-318, 1921.

JONES, A.D. Social Networks of Farmers Among the Plateau Tonga of Zambia in The New Elites of Tropical Africa. Ed. P. Lloyd. Oxford University Press for International African Institute. London, 1966.

KANOWITZ, LEO. Sex Roles in Law and Society. University of New Mexico Press. Alburquerque, 1973.

KAPFERER, B. "Norms and the Manipulation of Relationships in a Work Context," in Social Networks in Urban Stiatuions. Ed. by J. Clyde Mitchell. Manchester University Press. Manchester, 1969.

KATZ, FRED E. "Occupational Contacts Networks." Social Forces 37. 252-258, 1958.

KELNER, M. The Elite Structure of Toronto. Ethnic Composition and Pattern of Recruitment. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, University of Toronto, 1970.

KIEREN, SHEILA. The Working Wife, A Canadian Handbook. Toronto Women's Division, Canadian Life Insurance Association, 1970.

KING, WILLIAM L. MACKENZIE. Report by W.L. Mackenzie King on his mission to England to confer with the British Authorities on the Subject of Immigration to Canada from the Orient and Immigration from India in particular. (Sessional Paper No. 36A 1908 Edward VII.) Kings Printers. Ottawa, 1908.
Confidential Memorandum accompanying Report of W.L. Mackenzie King on his mission to England, May 2, 1908. Gov. Gen. File, Vol. 2(b), 1908.

KINLOCH, GRAHAM C. The Dynamics of Race Relations, McGraw-Hill Book Co. New York, 1974.

KLEIN, V. Britain's Married Women Workers. Routledge Kegan and Paul. London, 1965.

KOSA, JOHN. Land of Choice: The Hungarians in Canada. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, 1954.

KUMAR, GURU DATT. Hindus in the United States: Activities of the Hindu Students and Labourers on the Pacific. Span of Life. 5(3): 6-11, 1912.

KUNDSIN, RUTH B. (Ed.) Women and Success. The Anatomy of Achievement. W. Morron. New York, 1974.

KUPER, LEO AND M.G. SMITH (ED.). Pluralism in Africa. University of California. Berkeley. Los Angeles, 1969.

LAL, BRIJ. East Indians in British Columbia 1904 - 1914. A Historical Study in Growth and Integration. M.A. Dissertation. History Dept. University of British Columbia, 1976.

LAMBERT, RONALD. Sex Role Imagery in Children. The Social Origins of Mind. Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada No. 6. Queen's Printer. Ottawa, 1969.

LAUMANN, E. AND HOWARD SHUMAN. Open and Closed Structures. Unpublished Paper prepared for the 1967 Meeting of the American Sociological Association, 1967.

LAVIOLETTE, FOREST E. The Canadian Japanese and World War II. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, 1948.

LEACH, EDMOND, R. Political System of Highland Burma. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, 1954.
Rethinking Anthropology. Humanities Press. New York, 1962.

LESTER, RICHARD A. Hiring Practices and Labour Competitions. Industrial Relations Section Report. Princeston #88, 1954.
The Measurement & Interpretation of Job Vacancies. Comment on Part I edited by Robert Ferber. Columbia University Press. New York, 1966.
Manpower Planning in a Free Society. Princeston University Press. Princeston, 1966.

LEVINE, JOEL. "The Sphere of Influence." American Sociological Review 37. February 14 - 27, 1972.

LEVITT, PAUL R. A Frequency Dependent Natural Selection Model for the Evolution of Social Cooperation Network. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 70, 1973.

LEVY, MARION. Modernization and The Structure of Societies. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966.

LONG, C.D. The Labour Force Under Changing Income and Employment. Princeton University Press. Princeton, 1958.

LORRAIN, FRANCOIS AND HARRISON C. WHITE. "Structural Equivalence of Individuals in Social Networks." Journal of Mathematical Sociology. 1971.

MACDONALD, JOHN S. AND LEATRICE MACDONALD. "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Networks." Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly. 42: 82-97, 1964.

MADDEN, JANICE F. The Economics of Sex Discrimination. Lexington Books. Toronto, 1973.

MALIK, HARDIT SINGH. Indian in Canada. External Affairs 8 (Feb-March) 1956.

MANNING, C.A. The Immigrant Woman and Her Job: Arno Press. New York, 1970 (Originally published in 1930.)

MARCHAK, PATRICIA (ED.). The Working Sexes: Symposium Papers on the effects of sex on women at work. Institute of Industrial Relations. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 1977.

MARSHALL, HOWARD D. "The Labour Market of Economists." The Review of Economics and Statistics XLV 3: 330. August, 1963.

MAYER, ADRIAN C. A Report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver. Institute of Social and Economic Research. University of British Columbia, 1959.

MAYER, A.C. "System and Network: An Approach to the Study of Political Process." in ed. in Indian Anthropology, Essay in Memory of D.N. Majumdar. Ed. T.N. Madan and G. Sarna. Asia Publishing House. 266-78. Bombay, 1962.

MAYER, ADRIAN C. "The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Studies of Complex Societies" in The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. Ed. by M. Banton, A.S.A. Monographs 4, Tavistock Publications. 97-122. London, 1966.

MAYER P. Tribesmen and Townsmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in a South African City. Oxford University Press. Capetown, 1961.
"Migrancy and the Study of African Town." American Anthropology, 1961.
Labour Migrancy and the Social Netowrk in Problems of Transition. Ed. by J.F. Holleman et al. Proceedings of the Social Sciences Research Conference held in The University of Natal Durban, July 1962. Natal University. Pietermantzburg, S. Africa, 1964.

MAYHEW, L. Ascription in Modern Societies. Sociological Inquiry 38. (Spring) 1969.

MASON, PHILLIP. Patterns of Dominance. Oxford University Press. New York, 1970.
Race Relations. Oxford University Press. New York, 1970.

MCKELVIE, B.A. Oriental Canadians: Outcasts or Citizens? Federationist Publishing Co. Vancouver, 1943.

MERTON, ROBERT. "Discrimination and the American Creed" in Discrimination and National Welfare. (Ed.) R. MacIver, Harper and Row. New York, 1949.

MERTON, R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Free Press. Glenco, 1957.

MISROW, JOGESH C. East Indian Immigration on the Pacific Coast. R and E Research Associates. San Francisco, 1971 (Original published in 1915).

MITCHELL, J. CLYDE. Social Networks in Urban Situation. Analyses of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns. Manchester University Press. Manchester, 1969.

MORENO, J.L. Who Shall Survive? Foundation of Sociometry, Group Pyschotherapy and Sociodrama. Beacon House. New York, 1953.

MUNDAY, JENIFFER G. East Indians in British Columbia. A Community Transition. B.A. Hons Essay Dept. of Sociology. University of British Columbia, 1953.

MUTHAMMA, I.M. People of India in North America. Lotus Printer. Banglore, 1975.

MYERS, CHARLES A. AND GEORGE SCHUTZ. The Dynamics of a Labour Market. Prentice Hall. New York, 1951.

MYRDAL, A. AND VIOLA KLIEN. Women's Two Roles. Routledge and Kegal Paul Ltd., 1956.

NADEL, S.F. The Theory of Social Structure. Colien and West. London, 1957.

NAGATA, JUDITH A. Adaption and Integration of Greek Working class Immigrants in the City of Toronto. International Migration Review: 4. 1969.

NAIDOO, J. "Socio-psychological Characteristics of East Indian Women." An Unpublished Paper, 1977.

NEWMAN, WILLIAM M. American Pluralism. Harper Row. New York, 1973.

OLSEN, SHELDON R. Ideas and Data: The Process and Practice of Social Research. The Dorsey Press. Homewood, Illinois, 1976.

OPPENHEIMER, V.K. The Female Labour Force in United States. University of California. Berkeley, 1970.
"Demographic Influence on Female Employment and Status of Women." American Journal of Sociology LXXVIII, Jan., 1973.

OSSENBERG, RICHARD (ED). Canadian Society: Pluralism, change and Conflict. Prentice Hall of Canada. Scarborough, Ontario, 1971.

OSTRY, SYLVIA. The Female Worker in Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census Monograph Programme. Queen's Printer. Ottawa, 1968.

OZGA, S.A. "Imperfect Markets Through Lack of Information." Quarterly Journal of Economics 74 (Feb.) - 1960.

PANNU, RAJINDER SINGH. A sociological Survey of Teachers From India. Teaching in Alberta - 1958 - 1965. An unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Alberta, 1967.

PARK, ROBERT E. Race and Culture. The Free Press. London, 1950.

PARK R.E. AND E.W. BURGESS. Introduction to the Science of Sociology. University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1921.

PARNES, HERBERT. Research on Labour Mobility. Social Science Research Council. New York, 1954.

PARSONS, TALCOTT. Essays in Sociological Theory. Free Press. Glenco, Ill., 1954.
Some considerations on the Theory of Social Change. Rural Sociology 26: 219-239, 1961.

PAUL, G.S. The Third World Immigrants and the policies of Multi-culturalism in Canada. A case of East India Immigrants. Edmonton: 1975. Forthcoming in Multi-culturalism and Third World Immigrants. Ed. by G.S. Paul and S.M.A. Hameed University of Alberta Press. Edmonton.

PAUL, G.S. Recent Contributions of the Indian Community to Canada. Unpublished Paper. Speech delivered to "Indians in Toronto" Conference May 14, 1977.

PAUW, B.A. The Second Generation. Oxford University Press. Cape Town, 1963.

PEREIRA, CECIL PATRICK. East Indians in Winnipeg. University of Manitoba. Winnipeg, 1971.

PERLMAN, RICHARD. Labour Theory. John Wiley & Sons. Toronto, 1969.

PINDER, P. Women at Work. George Berridge & Co. Ltd. London, 1969.

POPPER, K.R. The Logic of Scientific Discovery. Hutchison, London, 1959.

PORTER, JOHN. The Vertical Mosaic. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, 1965.

PRICE, CHARLES. "The Study of Assimilation" in Migration. Sociological Studies 2. Edited by J.A. Jackson. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, 1969.

RADCLIFF, BROWN A.R. Structure and Function in Primative Society. Cohen and West. London, 1952.

RAMCHARAN, S. West Indians in Toronto: The Search for Social and Economic Equality. Unpublished paper presented at the meetings of Canadian Association of Sociology and Anthropology. Kingston, Ontario, 1973.

RAMCHARAN, S. The Adaptation of West Indians to Toronto. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Windsor, 1974.

RAMACHARAN, S. "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto Canada." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. 13(3) 1976.

RAPAROT, A. AND WILLIAM HORVATH. "A Study of a Large Sociogram." Behavioral Science; 6 (October) 1961.

RAWLYK, G.A. "Canada's Immigration Policy 1945 - 1962." Dalhousie Review XLII No. 3 - 1962.

Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Book IV.
The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. Queen's Printers. Ottawa, 1970.

REES, ALBERT. Information Networks in Labour Markets. American Economic Review. (May) 1966.

REPORTS OF KHALSA DIWAN SNIGH SOCIETY OF VANCOUVER. Report of Correspondence and Documents Relating to Negotiations between 1939-47 Culminating in Domiciliary Rights being Accorded to 210 Members of the Indian Community by the Dominion Government, Vancouver, 1947. A Memorandum concerning Immigration Problems of the Canadian Citizens of East Indian Origin in Canada. Khalsa Diwan Society. H. Vancouver, 1963.

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM & BICULTURALISM. Book IV, Chap. 1, The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. Queen's Printers. Ottawa, 1970.

REPORTS OF THE CANADA DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION. Economic and Social Research Branch: Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography of Research Published and Unpublished 1920 - 1958. Ottawa, 1961, 1962, 1965.

REYNOLDS, LLOYD. The Structure of Labour Markets. Harper and Row. New York, 1951.

RICHMOND, ANTHONY. Postwar Immigrants in Canada. University of Toronto Press. Toronto, 1967.
Ethnic Residential Seggregation in Metropolitan Toronto. Institute for Behavioral Research, York University. Toronto, 1972.
Black and Asian Immigrants in Britain and Canada. Experience of Prejudice and Discrimination. New Community, 1975.

ROBSON, R.A.H. AND MIREILLE LA POINTE. A Comparison of Men's and Women's Salaries and Employment Fringe Benefits in the Academic Profession. Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, No. 1. Queen's Printers. Ottawa, 1970.

ROSE, PETER I. "Inter-Group Relations" in Social Problems, ed. 1964.

ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT ON STATUS OF WOMEN IN CANADA. Queen's Printers. Ottawa, 1970.

SCANLON, T. JOSEPH. The Sikhs of Vancouver: A Case Study of the Role of the Media in Ethnic Relations. Carleton University, 1975.

SCANZONI, JOHN H. Opportunity and The Family. The Free Press. New York, 1970.
Sexual Bargaining: Power Politics in American Marriage. Prentice Hall, Englewood, California. New York, 1972.
Men, Women and Change: A Sociology of Marriage and Family with Lettra Scanzoni. McGraw Hill, New York, 1976.

SCHMERHORM, R.A. Comparative Ethnic Relations. Random House. New York, 1970.

SEDGWICK, JOSEPH. Report on Applicants in Canada. October, 1970.
Report on Immigration Part II. (January 27, 1966.)

SHANKHAR, RICHARD A. Integration and Goal Definition of the East Indian Student in the Sutter County Area. M.A. Dissertation. California State University, Chico, 1971.

SHAPERO, A.R., RICHARD HOWELL AND J. THOMBAUGH. The Structure and Dynamics of the Defense Rnd D Industry: The Los Angeles and Boston Complexes. Stanford Research Institute. Manlo Park, California, 1965.

SHASTRI, SRINIVASA. The East Indians in Canada. Empire Club of Canada Addresses: 181-194. 1922.

SHEPPARD, H.L. AND A. HARVEY BELITSKY. The Job Hunt: Job-Seeking Behaviour of Unemployed Workers in a Local Economy. The John Hopkins Press, 1966.

SHIBUTANI, TOMATSO AND KIAN KWAN. Ethnic Stratification. Macmillan & Co. New York, 1965.

SIMPSON, GEORGE E. AND MILTON J. YINGER. Racial and Cultural Minorities. Harper and Row. New York, 1972 (1958).

SINGH, GURDIAL. East Indian in the United States. Sociology and Social Research, 1946.

SMITH, M. ESTELLIA. "Networks and Migration Resettlement". Authropology Quarterly, 1976 Vol. 49 No. 1, pp. 20 - 27.

SMITH, GEORGINA M. Help Wanted Female. A Study of Demand and Supply in a Local Job Market for Women Research Program. Institute of Management and Labour Relations. The State University, Rutgers (No date of publication. Material included is up to 1962).

SOLANKI, RATILAL. Americanization of Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation of Asian-Indians in the State of Colorado and The Educational Implications. Ph.D Dissertation. University of Denver, S.C., 1973.

SRIVASTVA, RAM P. Family Organization and Change Among the Overseas Indians with Special Reference to Indian Immigrant Families of British Columbia, Canada. Family In India: A Regional View. Ed. by G. Kurian. Monton, The Hague S., 1975.

STIGLER, GEORGE. "The Economics of Information." Journal of Political Economy: 69 (June) 1961.
"Information in the Labour Market." Journal of Political Economy 70 (Oct.) 1962.

TILLY, CHARLES AND C. HAROLD BROWN. "On Uprooting, Kinship and the Auspicies of Migration," International Journal of Comparative Sociology. Spetember, 1967.

TILLY, CHARLES. "Foreward" in Networks of Contacts by Grace M. Anderson. Wilfred Laurier University. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 1974.

TREIMAN L. AND M.L. TAYLOR. "Psychological Sex Differences" in Manual of Child Psychology. (Ed.) L. Carmichael. Wiley & Sons. New York, 1956.

TURRITTIN, JANE SAWYER. "Networks and Mobility: The Case of West Indian Domestics from Montserrat." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 13(3), 1976.

TURNER, M.B. Women and Work. Los Angeles Inst. of Industrial Relations. University of California, 1964.

UBALE, BHALSAHIB. Equal Opportunity and Public Policy. A Report on concensus of the South Asian Canadian Community regarding their place in the Canadian Mosaic submitted to the Attorney General of Ontario by The S. Asian Canadian Community. No date (submitted by 1977).

ULLMAN, J.C. AND DAVID P. TAYLOR. "The Information System in Changing Labour Market." Proceedings of the Industrial Relations Research Association. 1965.

VALLEE, FRANK G. "Multi-Ethnic Societies" in Issues in Canadian Society. Forcese and Richer (ed.). Prentice Hall, 1975.

VAN DEN BERGHE, PIERRE L. Race and Racism. A Comparative Perspective. Wiley, New York, 1967.
Race and Ethnicity. Essays in Comparative Sociology. Basic Books. New York, 1970.

VAN DEN BERGHE, PIERRE. South Africa, A Study in Conflict. University of California Press. Berkeley, 1970.

VAN VELSEN, J. The Politics of Kinship. Manchester University Press for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1964.
"The Extended Case Method and Situational Analysis" in The Craft of Social Anthropology. (Ed.) A.L. Epstein. Tavistock Publications. London, 1967.

WEBER, MAX. Calss, Status & Party, 1922 in From Max Weber (Trans. Ed.) Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills. Oxford University Press. New York, 1946.

WELLMAN, BARRY. The Network Nature of Future Communities: A Predictive Synthesis, Research Paper No. 58. Centre for Urban and Community Studies. University of Toronto, March 1973 (Unpublished).
The Network City with Paul Craven. Research Paper No. 59. Centre for Urban and Community Studies. University of Toronto, June 1973 (Unpublished).
The Community Question. Intimate Ties in East York. Research Paper No. 90. Centre for Urban and Community Studies. University of Toronto 1977.
Networks, Neighbourhood and Communities, Approaches to the Study of the Community Question with Baremy Leighton. Research Paper No. 97. Centre for Urban and Community Studies. University of Toronto 1978.

WENZEL, LAWRENCE A. The Identification and Analysis of Certain Value Orientation of Two Generation of East Indians in California. Ed. D. University of Pacific, 1966.
The Rural Punjabis of California. A Religio-Ethnic Group, Phylon 29: 245-56. 1969.

WHITE PAPER ON IMMIGRATION. Queen's Printer for Manpower and Immigration. October, 1966.

WILCOCK R. AND FRANKE WATER H. Unwanted Workers: Permanent Lay-offs and Long-term Unemployment. The Free Press. New York, 1963.

WITTGENSTEIN, L. Philosophical Investigations, Basil and Blackwell and Mott Ltd., Oxford, 1954.

WOLFE, ALVIN W. "On Structural Comparisons of Networks." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 7(4), p. 226 ff, 1970.

WOODSWORTH, CHARLES, J. Canada and the Orient: A Study in International Relations. Macmillan, Toronto, 1941.

WOODSWORTH, JAMES S. Strangers Within Our Gates. The University of Toronto Press. Toronto, (1909) 1972.

WYOTINSKY, W.S. Additional Worker and the Volume of Unemployment in the Depression. Committee on Social Security of the Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C., January 1940.

YOUNG, MICHAEL AND PETER WILMOTT. Family and Kinship in East London. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.

YUZYK, PAUL. The Ukrainians in Manitoba. Toronto University Press. Toronto, 1953.